

R. Philip, King of Spain.
The Cruell subtilty of

AMBTIOIN, DISCOVERED IN A DISCOURSE CONCERNING the King of SPAINES Surprizing The VALTELINE.

Written in *Italian* by the Author of
the Historie of the Counsell of Trent.

Translated by the Renowned Sir Thomas Roe
Knight, Many times Embassadour in Fomaine parts,
with his Epistle to the House of Commons
in PARLIAMENT.

Shewing the onely way in Policie to counterplot the
designes of promoting Unjust Interests of
STATE.

H. Valtellina.



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The Council Library of

AMBITION.

DISCOVERED IN A
DISCOVERED CONCERNING

the King of Spain's surprising

The GATELINE.

Written in Italian by the Author of

the History of the Council of Trent.

Translated by the Renowned Sir Thomas Roe

Knight, Master of the Honourable House of Commons

and his Honourable House of Commons

in PARLIAMENT.

Shewing the manner in which the Council of Trent

was conducted, and the manner in which the Council

was conducted.

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Three Kings in the Strand.

1703.



TO THE KNIGHTS,
BARONS AND BURGESSES
of the House of Commons,
assembled in Parliament,



Things compared, though contrary, or alike in nature, doe illustrate one the other: *Contrariarum & similitudinum eadem est ratio.* 1. 2. 3.

And therefore, to discern the strengths, counsels, and ends of diuers Kingdomes, the straightest rule is comparison of their actions, gouernment, and foundation:

All *Monarchies* and *Republics* which haue an end proposed, whether to enlarge, or preserve their Dominion, most effectually worke to their owne ends, because such operation is naturall; *ut quæ uolunt quamquam Politiæ sint uniuscuiusque Respublicarum principia naturalia, etiam incrementum et florentissimum statum, ac mutationem, & finem potest demonstrare.*

A wise and rational Historian comparing and censuring diuers Common-wealths, why one flourisheth, and others decayed; and how the one prevailed vpon

the other; examined the formes and institutions, their
 designes, and ends, and what was possible to be built
 vpon them. That of *Plato* he esteemed vncapable of
 comparison, other then as a Statue to a man, which
 had excellent art, without life. *Athens* and *Thebes* were
 not vnderlaid to beare any aduersitie: But when they
 were most like to rise, the temperature of their policy
 was insufficient to allay the abundance and increase
 of humours, & the growth was too sudden and heavy
 for the foundation: when they began to shake, their
 root had no earth. The *Lacedemonian*, to sublist of it
 selfe, to oppose forraigne violence, to need nothing ex-
 otique, to liue in peace, was in all perfection institu-
 ted. *Ceterum ad parandum sibi in vicinos dominatum*,
 to extend their Empire, even their owne foundation
 was an impediment. A blessed state, if Ambition were
 banished the world; but defectiue to absolute safetie:
 For no defence is secure, that cannot offend. There-
 fore, as soone as that State began to affect conquest,
 and to raise Armies, they found in their constitution,
 that the Lawes made to keepe them happy, were too
 narrow to hold others in seruitude: and their vntried
 felicitie blinded their iudgement, to over-value their
 owne abilities. *Qui vitam insitauisset, contra naturam*,
miris etiam contra naturam sese fundit.

Plato.

Polib.

The *Carthaginians* and *Romans* had larger ends, &
 a broader foundation, like abilities and aptitudes to ef-
 fect them, which were *Imperium mundi*. And though
 all Common-wealths doe conuenire in aliqua media,
 yet they which designe quiet possession of their owne,
 and usurpation of the Estates of others, are at both
 ends vitally repugnant.

The reasons why the *Romans* prevailed vpon *Carthage* being alike instituted, are another consideration: the manner of building, the constancy, vertue, and goodnesse of Instruments are great differences. In these the *Romans* excelled; and perhaps in the youth (for every *State* hath an Infancy, a mature, and a decrepitate) and consequently soonest arrived at their ends. But that wherein most effectually they prevailed, was in Counsels; in which they had advantage in the forme of their government: For the people in *Carthage*, in all deliberations, had too much authoritie, which bred delay, and hindered secrecy; whereas in *Rome*, the *Senate* and *Optimates*, experienced and wise men, onely resolved. *Imus ad bellum, Tacit. non omnes Nuncios palam audiri, non omnia consilia Polib. cunctis presentibus tractari, ratio rerum, aut occasionum velocitas patitur. Victoria consilij, & ratione perficitur.*

From these Considerations a Consequence is deduced, that when any two great Kingdomes fall into a warre, that which will preuaile, must consider the ends of the other, and the wayes and meanes whereby they are prosecuted, and to them must apply all industry, and direct opposition. In the ends, as there is great difference, so there is great advantage by the: because, getting things, *etiamsi agendo repauntur*, weare out passivie, though of equall strength and hardnesse, as the iron that strikes, in time batters that which suffers. *Common-wealths* that designe conquest, and are alway attentive to watch occasion, get ground vpon the modest, more by vigilancy then force: and fraud, which is a terrible instrument, doth ever

ever accompany Ambition. Counsels vanquish Armes, as spirituall things are predominant vpon materiall, and as fire dissolues the fastest metals : & those Counsels are most preualent, which are vnited in one head, and issue from one fountaine.

Therefore rising and encreasing Empires are dangerous, if they once grow great, and must be resisted in their ends, and in their counsels : single defence is not sufficient : troublesome neighbours must be made passiuē, to abate their reputation, which the spirit of action presupposeth.

To apply these premisses, hauing read with pleasure the following Discourse of the Reasons of the Resolution in the *Valteline*; and being at leisure, eyther to sleep, or wast in mine owne meditations, I thought it would be a good recreation, and not vnacceptable to my loyall Countymen, to teach it to speake as plaine *English*, as it doth truth; and finding the whole scope of the Author (an Authour of great worth, and greater works) to be an information to the World, of the dangerous encrease, and ambition of the house of *Austria* : and, if possible, to read the *King of Spain* a lesson, not to bee learned, but vnder a Rodd of Iron, that in time necessity would open the eyes of all Princes, to oppose his secret project of *Vniuersall Monarchy*; I beleeued that some profit might be gathered out of this forraine Garden.

I wil suppose that this Theame is sufficiently handled, and that there are few practised in the world, who will deny it. The witnesses are great and euident; *India* vniustly vsurped; *Sicily* surpris'd by treason; *Naples* by breach of Contract; *Milan* held by Intrusion;

Nanarre by excommunication of the lawfull Prince,
Portugall oppressed by the Sword; and the Pope re-^{comfag.}
 fused to iudge either competently, or as Arbitrer, the
 pretences of *Parma & Braganza*, when it was possible
 in temporall Causes, his spirit might erre in not ado-
 ring *Spaine*: The *Valteline* possessed vnder the colour
 of Religion; The *Palatinate* and the *States* of *Glenc*
 seised by *auxiliars*, and kept for Debts forced vpon
 the Proprietaries, which they desired not to borrow:
Wesell stollen in a truce; and the *Rhyne* passed ouer
 vnder the fauour of a Treaty; *Embsden* attempted;
Venice conspired; *Piemont* assaulted; *France* twice cor-
 rupted into Combustion, with holy leagues and
 open Armes: and *England* practised, and inuaded;
 And to bee able to doe any, or all these, a scelerous
 peace sought with the *Turke*, to whom, in truth,
Spaine is only a true friend. These are such a Cloud of
 witnesses, as no modesty will oppugne them.

Which being now manifest to the world, and that
 it is expected euery wise Prince and State will con-
 sider, *nunc mea res agitur*, I also haue presumed to
 warne *diuissos ab orbe Britannos*, who being separated
 from Generall Commerce by the Sea, which is our
 wall; true Information may bee kept out, as well as
 Enemes.

To which purpose, without any malignity or wil-
 ling offence, I must looke one age back, For in the for-
 mer, Alas, the Kings of *Castile* were good Neighbors,
 and were content not to bee supplanted by their
 owne Moores, mingled with their Subiects, both in
 house and bloud.

England

England hath been the speciall and most adu-
gious marke at which this new *Monarchy* hath aimed,
since *cupido dominandi* outgrew Conscience, and all
lawes of Iustice; *England*, the *Queene* of the Sea, and
Lady of Traffique being conquered, halfe of the
whole is done. *England* hath more hindered this
vnnaturall growth, then all *Europe*; it is then out of
question, that the wisdome of *Spaine*, which neuer
erreth in the way of greatnesse, loues and hates no
kingdome so much, as *England*.

Raphael
Perez.

When *Don Iohn* of *Austria* had wonne the famous
battaile of *Lepanto*, and therein laid to himselfe a
foundation of advancement, and had gotten possession
of the City of *Tunis*; the *Spanish* Councell, foreseeing
the rising *Starre* of a new *Monarchy*, though in their
owne Princes blood, rather resolved to raise, and de-
stroy that Towne; and accordingly gave order to the
Generall. But hee, who had higher thoughts, fortifi-
ed it, and sollicited the *Pope Pius quintus*, to intercede
with the *Catholique* king, that the Title of that king-
dome might bee conferred vpon him, to erect a throne
opposite to the *Ottoman Empire*. The king of *Spain*,
iealous of any Concurrent, vtterly refused this honor
to his owne Brother: and suddenly, to exercise his
great mind vpon some subiect of his priuate seruice,
sent him *Gouernour* into *Flanders*, where hee was as
like to breake; as rise; The young Prince, whose
fares blood boiled in his veynes, discontent to bee
shut vp in so narrow a Compasse, fell vpon a new
practise, to conquer *England*, and procured so farre
with the same *Pope*, that he dealt earnestly with the
Catholique

Catholique King, to consent to that Enterprise, and to contribute Aydes for the Execution, in favour whereof his Holiness had already granted him *Bulls, Breues, Money,* and the *secret Inuestiture*, though this Proiect in the manner was not acceptable to King *Phillip*, that the *Pope* should giue that away, without first consulting with him, which hee had embraced in his owne thoughts, yet he yeelded and promised to assist *Don Iohn* in the Inuasion of *England*; So much more hee thirsted to deprive a *Christian Prince* of an antient Inheritance, then to keepe a great Kingdom, opportunely seated to annoy the *Turks*, from his friends, the *Ottomans*; I will not Physically coniecture what bloud begat this Counsell, but propose it, as a worthy and great Consideration.

The attempt of the *Duke of Medina*, and the invincible *Armado*, was a fruit of the same root; But that the sword might not seeme to cut through all Iustice, to corrupt the minds of the ignorant, and to satisfie the doubtfull and scrupulous, a counterfeite booke, vnder a counterfeite name, was published, discussing the severall titles of *England*, and seeming to giue euery one their owne right, it cunningly insinuates, that the reasons of the *Infanta Isabella* were more pregnant then all the rest, which could not come into question vntill Sixteene Princes successori-ly raigning, were condemned for Vsurpers, one of whom her father had married and by her taken the title of *England*. But God fought for vs; *Tonante in celis Iehonah, & Excelso edente vocem suam, grando, Psal: 18. & pruna ignea: ita emittens sagittas suas, dispergit, & fulgura iaculans, fundit illos.*

When fained Titles were foolishnesse before God and men, and the Chariot wheels of the Enemy were taken off, outward force not prevailing, *Religion*, and the defence of that, as the last refuge and Sanctuary of Ambition, was taken vp, and a holy pretence aduanced to praefise *Treason* and *Rebellion* in *Ireland*. To this end, the Eirles of *Desmond* and *Tyron* were thrust out, and maintained in defection, against their naturall Prince; and as soone as their actions were worth the avowing, Aids, and Supplies were openly sent from *Spaine*, and that Kingdome doubly inuaded, by Conspiracie, and Armes. But *Kinsale* is a famous sepulcher of their honor: that Climate perhaps hauing as naturall an *Antipathy* to Cholerique complexions, and Intruders, as to noysome and venemous beasts.

I purpose not to enumerate priuate and clandestine minings and machinations: These three notorious examples will proue the general Assertion, *That Spaine doth aspire the subiection of Europe by the first ascent of England*: yet to shew more clearly the wiles and religious Counsells, wherewith this Designe is prosecuted, it will be no vnprofitable digression, to reueale to the world the Negotiations of this Monarchy with the *Ottomans*, when eyther it hath beene in want, or fear; or preparing for some new Attempt; *Catholique waies, which the Lyon hath neuer trode in the Desert, nor the Vulture eye scene in the wildernesse.*

It is one of the Vaine-glories of *Spaine*, that they hold no correspondence, nor euer made any peace with the great Enemy of *Christendome*, calumniating and reproaching all other Princes and States, who, for vilitie of Trade, maintaine a Civill Commerce with them:

them: But wise men will discern the fallacy, and difference betweene those, who, according to the liberty of the lawes of God and Nations, doe onely traffique & communicate the abundancies of their Countries, with Infidels; and others, who will have no exchange nor intercourse, but vnder the condition of diuiding the world, and oppressing, by mutuall consent, of all Princes. And such a Peace and opportunitie the *Spaniard* hath offered, and sought of the *Emperour of Turkey*: And if this be not sufficient, to returne the ignominie cast vpon others, Let it be weighed vprightly, and it shall appeare, that all the correspondence and trade of all the Princes in amity with the *Grand Signior* together, doth not bring to him halfe the profit and securitie, as the dissentions and Intrusions of the House of *Austria*, wherewith they keepe all *Christendome* in continuall feare, or warre. VVherby that common Enemy liues in safety, and at ease, watching advantages vpon all, indifferently.

About the time that *Phillip* the second (the holy League to depriue *Henry* the Fourth of the *Crowne of France*, sailing him) in the Reigne of *Mehemet*, Grand father of *Moras* now liuing, a certaine rich *Portugall* Iew, *Don Aluaro Mendes*, resident in *Constantinople*, pretending occasion to send another of his Tribe called *Iehuda Serfasi*, vpon priuate affaires (but practised by the Ministers of *Spaine*) into that Country; as soon as he arriued at the frontire, by the Kings order he was created an Ambassador from the *Grand Signior*, and conducted in that qualitie to the Court, and a Counsel held, in what manner to giue him audience; His name was already changed to *Don Gabriell di Bona Ventura*,

his Instructions drawne by *alunts* for the purpose, and thus hee was shewed abroad, defrayed by the King, and his Message published, that hee was imployed to offer Peace and friendship from the *Turkish Emperour*.

When this Scene was acted, he was sent backe with true Letters of *Don Christoforo di Mora*, and the *Secretary Calagna*, to the great *Vizier*, and for his better securitie, a safe Conduct and Credance was given him, signed by the King *Yo el Rey*.

Passing by *Sicily*, by Catholique Order, Forty Turkish Slaues were deliuered him, to present at the Port, in earnest of the *Spanish* and *Ottoman* amitie, Letters also of credit for good summes were furnished, to enable him to spend, & procure answer from the *Grand Signior*, and fauour of the *Vizier*, *Musti*, and other of the great Officers.

With which Orders and Armes being arrived at *Constantinople*, he vsed all meanes, with all men, to induce an acceptance of the Peace, vrging and demonstrating the earnest affection, and desire of the King of *Spaine* to conclude it.

But this practise being discovered by the Ambassadors resident at the Port, and others not too well affected to *Spaine*, the falshood was made appeare: and *Don Gabriel* by the great *Vizier* was clapt in prison, as a Counterfeite and Impostor.

In a few moneths this *Vizier* was displaced, and another aduanced to his Office, and, as it is a common rule with them, to runne a contrary course to their fallen Predecessors, without examining the merits or causes: this *Jew* was set at libertie, and all his actions and Letters approved, as true and authentically; And there-

thereupon Petition made to the *Grand Signior* to en-
 forme the Negotiation; and by the counsell of the
 new Ministers, it was admitted, and accepted, and an-
 swer granted to the King of *Spain*, that seeing hee had
 shewed so much affection to peace, and to enter into
 a sincere Correspondence with the Port, especially by
 the charitable liberty of so many *Mahometans* freely
 presented; that the Gates of the *Ottoman Empire* were
 alway open to whomsoever did seek their friendship:
 and that Ambassadors might securely come to treat
 and conclude it.

With these Letters to the *Catholique King*, and o-
 thers to *Dan Christoforo di Mera*, and the *Secretary Ca-*
tagna from the *Vizier*, *Dan Gabriel* was dispatched
 with two Messengers of the Port, by the way of *Wal-*
lachia to the confines of the Empire, purposing to take
 his journey through *Germany*.

But *Rodolphus* being then in warre with *Sultan Me-*
hemet, he was stayd, and examined on the Borders;
 To free himselfe, he fained that he had Letters to the
Emperour; whereupon all his papers were seized, and
 sent to *Prague*. His Imperiall Majesty very discontented,
 and iealous of such Treaties betwene *Spain* and *Tur-*
ky, without his communication, and in such a Con-
 iuncture; gave order, that the Jew should be brought
 to *Vienna*, and kept in close Prison, untill he had some
 advice from *Madrid*. The *Catholique King*, finding
 this non latere scelera, to save the honor of his private
 Designs, denied the fact, forsooke and protested the
 poore *Dan Gabriel*, who miserably there ended his
 life, *con assai mala ventura*. It may be collected, that
 the Spanish ends of this Treaty were such as durst not

abide the light, seeing they might not bee trusted to the nearest friend; and it was iudged great modesty, to be ashamed, and the part of a good *Christian*, to renounce secret practises with *Turkes*, by the mediation of *Iewes*, but of an ill Master, to leaue and abandon his Seruant. Such Vessels in the hands of Princes are formed for honor, or dishonor, as their interests counsell them.

In later times, the extraordinary Ambassadors of the *Emperour*, treating at *Constantinople* the frontire Affaires, and accidentall Breaches, another overture was by them made in the name of the King of *Spain*, and the best argument used was, that the world knew but two great and *Imperiall* Families, *Austria*, and *Ottoman*, who if they were reconciled, might make another Diuision of *East* and *West*: The rest, it is more humanity to conceale, then *Christianitie* to negotiate.

This last yeare a *Bolognese* was sent from the Vice-King of *Naples*, in pursuit of the same Designe; and counterfeited Letters printed in *Spain*; with a Catalogue of impossible presents, pretended from the *Grand Signior*, to beg peace, and spread abroad, to add reputation to his Armies; as if the world would tremble at a smoake: And though this Engine returned fruitlesse, yet *Spain* is not hopelesse. They know the ease and aduantage they should draw, by securitie on this side, to haue all their Gallies at libertie, to shut vp the *Straits*, to hinder traffique, and to succour *Genoa*; and their Garrisons of *Calabria* and *Sicily* free, to be employed in their other necessities. And here it cannot be over-passed, that while *Spain* did negotiate this Peace, doubting not to effect it, the same instru-

ments

ments were employed with monies and Letters, to excite the *Cossacques* (though in prejudice of the Peace of the King of *Poland*, allyed to the House of *Austria* by a double marriage) to invade the *Bosphorus*, that the Armado of the *Grand Signior* might necessarily be kept in the blacke-Sea, for defence, whereby the *Spaniard*, by a fine Art, doth enioy halfe the fruits of the Peace, without obtaining it: These are a modell of the wayes and counsels of the *Spanish Monarchy*.

If the King of *Spain* enuied his Brother the Conquest of a *Mahometan* kingdome; and treat vnderhand with the *Turks*, without respect or knowledge of the *Emperour*; If he sollicite the seeds of a warre between *Poland* and the *Grand Signior*, vnder the colour of a peace, without care of the vilitie of that Crowne so neerly to him allyed: It may be concluded, that ambition of vniuersall Monarchy, is onely able to extinguish all obligations, both of Religion and blood: Because, *Si violandum iure est, imperij gratia violandum est, alijs Enrip. rebus pietatem colas.*

If the first step to this sole Empire be the Conquest of *England*, as the Designes of the Enemy, from whom some lessons are best taught, and their Counsells to their owne ends doe clearly demonstrate, and the resolution of diuers *Iunto's* haue laid for a foundation: It is happy for *England* to fore-see the blow, and to provide timely to preuent it: and not be bound to the disadvantage of making a desperate Bett, when the aduersary shall call, and the game irrecoverable.

These Demonstrations admitted for true, the next Consideration will be, by what meanes most effectually and virtually to worke a iust defence; Wherein if
the

the Ends, Counsell, and Wayes, whereby *Spaine* hath in few yeares aduanced, bee obserued, they will reflect a true light vpon the contrary, how they may be humbled.

The end of *Spaine* is *Vniuersall Monarchy*, conformable to the *Romans* in all, but the noble contempt of *Treasures*: Herein, and in Counsell, they haue aduantage of vs. It must then be concluded to oppose this end, wee must resolve the like, and pursue it with the like wayes, and Counsell, (except onely the wayes of *Darkenesse*) to take from them those rank parts, which nourish this Concupiscence.

To discover the right line of this opposition, it may be enquired, what *Spaine* did aduance in the last warre, in the blessed dayes of the glorious *Queen Elizabeth*, either vpon *England, France, Germany, Italy, or Holland*, and the totall summe shall be found nothing. Whether they lost in *Flanders*, or of their owne, is not the question, for the warre was in the end defensue, and hee is beaten, that assailing conquers not; But that the *Indies* were not able to supply, nor appease the mutinies of his Souldiers, nor to pay the Interests of *Genoua*, and that they had lost all Reputation, and sought peace on all sides *precarie*, *Hochstrat*, the *Electo's*, their *Bills protested*, their *travailing Fryars*, their owne *Ambassages* and the *World*, are irrefutable witnesses.

To account what they haue gotten in these latter yeares of *Peace*, onely by *peace*, besides the daring so bold an Act, as to expell many Millions of inborne Enemies, and thereby raising another *Indee* of treasure for a designed warre, at the springtyde of their
full

full Coffers, would, if it lay together, make a competent estate for a moderate Prince. Somewhat in this point hath beene touched in a generall enumeration, but particulars do fully instruct. *Alarache* in *Barbarie*, to strengthen their South Coasts of *Spaine*, and to helpe to shut vp the Straights of *Gibraltar*; *Acon*, vnder the *Imperiall* Coulours depriued of the liberie of Conscience, the *Reformed Magistrates* banished, and the Citie reduced to their *Devotion*; The *non Plus Vltra* of the *Rhyne*, 40 yeares defended, slip-ouer; and thereby *Wesell*, the *Retraict*, and Sanctuary of our *Religion*, made the *Spanish Garrison*; *Gulick*, and the Inheritance of the *Heyres* of *Clene* possessed vnder the title of protection, and kept as a pledge; The *Palatinate* distributed to their *Dependants*, but the Ports and Fortresses of Importance held in hostage; And thus *Holland* surrounded; The *Falsoline* blockt-vpp; The *Crownes* of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* intailed, and the *Nobility* spoiled of their priuiledge of free Election; The *Euangeliques* vniuersally exiled and oppressed; And all *Germany* trembling vnder the example: *These are the fruits of a Spanish peace*. If the slumbring *Lyon* bite so mortally, what shall hee doe, enrag'd after his pursued Prey? And if in peace, contrary to the nature of peace, such achievements are obtained, that the ship of *Spaine* runne in the night so many leagues, while the Pilot seemes to sleepe, It is euident, in peace and Warre they haue one end of Conquest. *Sapiens non semper it uno gradu, sed Seneca, una via.*

From these examples wee must learne *bellum utiliter inire, & proficui*. I will not presume to under-

stand where the *Spanish Empire* is most sensible and weak; but exhibit some generall rules, that Rivers are onely to be prevented of their waters, by stopping or diverting their fountaines. *Egypt* depends vpon the courtesie and payes tribute to the King of *Ethiopia* to giue leaue to *Nilus* to water it. The body is soonest reduced to a consumption, by destroying the *Liver*, the *Indies* of blood; And then demonstrate these axioms by a few *Roman and Spanish Parallels*, what they did, and what they suffered, and leaue the application to *Aſine* men.

That Princely People had no *Indies*, but their *Virtue*; *Rome* and the *Senate* was all; while they caried their Armies abroad, they had no returns but victorie and triumph, and they could loose nothing, except men, that sold their liues dearely. But when their *Emuli* the *Carthagenians*, discovered by their Inuasion of *Sicily*, that their ambition had no limits, and considered that while they fought for their owne ground, they could get nothing, but blowes; They resolved to send *Haniball* to the Gates of *Rome*; where he reduced that *Empire* to nothing, but a Colledge of braue old men, prepared to dye in *Maieſtie*. Eightene yeares this glorious Captaine rode on the spoiles of *Italy*, and doubtlesse had finished that Dominion, and in that day, in which he turned to *Capua* had supped in the *Capitol*, *Si quemadmodum scires vincere, sic uti victoria scisses*. From whence grew the prouerbe *Capuam Hanibali, Cannas fuisse*. We must not trust in errors, nor hope this Courtesie of our *Bellies*.

Hor.

When the young *Scipio* reuiued the hearts of the
ROMANS

Romans by vndertaking the Prouince of *Spain*, where his Father and Vncle, and so many *Legions* were buried, he found three Armies greater then his owne, to oppose him. *Vulgaria omnia consilia, & quorum venire in mentem cuiusvis poterat, omisit.* To fight with all at once was impossible; to beginne with one desperate; the other two were at his back, entire, *vincendo, vinceretur.* And fortune must not be often tempted; But when he fell vpon the consideration, that new *Carthage* was the fountaine from whence all the diuisions were supplied, the Port, and harbour of succours, he resolued, *omnes unà aggredi;* by taking that City, to dry vp the streames at the spring head; Thus the Enemies retreat & storehouse became his, *tota Regio in una urbe superata est,* and he changed the face of the whole warre, by one deliberation, and was victorious without the vncertaine tryall of *Battel*, *dubium an viliori felicitioris concilio.*

Lastly, when there was no other way to retire *Haniball* out of *Italy*, this fate of *Carthage* vnderooke to transport the warre to their own doores; and then, hee that neuer refused to fight, treated, sought peace, and almost confessed that he was vanquished; then he made that pittifull oration, the most inglorious of all his Acts: *Si nunc esset integrum, optatum se fore, ut neque Romani quicquam unquam eorum qua sunt extra Italiam, nec Carthagenienses, eorum, qua extra Affricam concupiscunt.* To this moderation must *Spain* be reduced. *Haniball* knew hee might safelier haue lost all his battells within the *Alpes*, then one at the gates of *Carthage*: In them he adventured nothing, but the superfluity of youthfull blood, which en gagerè de

scour, sought their destiny in the field of honour, But now the Common-wealth was at stake, and they plaied their *Altars, Liberties, Wines, and Children*, at one game; *Haniball*, to auoid this destiny attempted *Italy*, to wast *Rome* at their owne charges. But *Scipio* had learned that wisdom of him, which himselfe could not vse, and finished at once a double warre: and the *Spaniards* imitating the one part, shewes vs the way to take the other; *Spaine*, while it was a single Kingdome threatned no body, and in *Spaine* like is to be gotten, where meate must be supplied, and a victorious Army may starue. Therefore, that not being the roore, it must bee sought from whence this euill of ambition ariseth: and as in naturall Bodies, there are other parts, besides the head and the heart, which being cut off, or wounded, cause desolution, so it is possible to find a way to weaken that Monster, which cannot bee killed at one blow.

Great preparations at mighty expences giue too great warning, are subiect to many accidents, and hazard too much reputation. And if one *State* know any one *Designe* that may much annoy the Enemy, it is like the other is not ignorant of their owne weaknesses. Wise Gamesters play not all at a Cast, the *By*, often helps the *Maine*. Therefore, both rule & example hath taught vs, that *Spaine* is more easily wasted, then any part of their *Christian Dominion* conquered, while the streame of money is open, and vndiuered. But if this long and sure course threaten also a reciprocal Consumption, yet that warre in *Europe* will bee most profitable for vs, which shall be made nearest our owne Kingdome, both for the keeping our forces,

forces vnited, and at hand, and for the easinesse of supplies in all Euents; and out of Europe, by a Roiall Action, it is not impossible at one stroke, to behead the Indies,

To oppose them in their Counsels we must first obserue what they are, *Espagne pratiquant tousiours sa vieille maxime de se maintenir par la guerra de ses voisins.* Pierre Mar.

Sedition, separation, and disunion are the dangerous weapons wherewith they prepare to themselves easie Conquests, and these Arts haue their first efficacy vnder the pretence of Treaty, then is the Spaniard most to be suspected, because they know how *hostibus Tacit. prodere prima belli tempora*, and if they can raise any ieaousie, or variance, to remove any one, all are weakened; *rebusque turbatis, malum extremum discordia accessit.* The contrary then, which is a firme and constant League, is onely powerfull, and able to arrest them. In the Colleagued warre, of the Commonwealths of Greece against the vnited power of the Spartans, some of the Confederates, who lay next the danger, beginning to wauer, this sentence of their common fastene was given, *unicam spem superesse videamur omnibus, agni sui longum, et super possidendi, si Epaminonda consilio iussu, omnium temporum, omniumque rerum societatem sinceram inter se colamus.* Polib. To hope to diuide indissoluble is lost labour, the Designes of Spaine are one, vnited in the head, in genera generalissimo, the House of Austria, which cannot be distracted. They haue no other maine and important adherent, but the Pope, and his Ecclesiasticall Dependents, and these also make but one, and meet in the Center, concur-

ring in common and mingled ends. And they greatly erre, who suppose, that it is euer possible to finde a Pope vnpartiall for *Spaine*, or to fauour any other Prince against them. Let *Urban* the Eighth serue for an example, rais'd and fed by *France*, yet fallen to their enemies, *per razione di stata*. One fresh and pregnant instance will discouer both this vnitie, and the aduantage of Spanish Counsell. When the Treaty of *Madrid* for the liberty of the *Valtelline* was not performed, and roundly pressed by the *French*, some difficulties remaining; to prolong the possession, the Forts of that Vally were, by consent, deliuered to the Pope, *tanquam communi Patri in Deposito*.

This seemed very equal; but the *French* wereouer-reached, For they hoped vpon the iustice of their Cause, and that a sentence would timely be given for them, which was impossible: For the *Spaniard* was content, that the Deposition should remaine for euer to his vse; and he knew that the Pope, by accepting it, was engag'd neuer to surrender to the *Grison*, because the *spirituall* Father could neuer deliuer his Children (behold another title) to the subiection and will of Heretiques: and if the *French* should at last vse force, his *Holiness* was doubly intrangled, both in honor and conscience, to vnite with *Spaine*, to maintaine his Deposition. This the *French* did not foresee, and fel vpon a disadvantage to recouer it from the Pope, a matter of dangerous consequence. Who, at last, takes Armes in the Cause, as the World knowes. But when both the Pope and *Spaine* saw such a generall storme, and Collegiation, and foresaw, that there was no remedie but to lose it by Armes, which being
victorious,

victorious, might quarrell with *Milan*, or finde new
 objects of their disdain, they resolved rather to sur-
 render it, and to seeme to yeeld to Iustice. But who
 must doe it? The Pope by no meanes can consent to
 deliuer part of his flocke to wolues, so his Ambassage
 protested in *France*, therefore, by secret conuenance
 and agreement, the King of *Spain* doth suddenly seale
 the old Articles, and makes the Transaction before
Barbarini shall arrive, to save the Popes honor: For
 a temporall Prince may *salua conscientia* restore *Heretiques*
 to their temporall rights, which the Pope, a
 higher pretender, ouer soule, body and goods, cannot
 doe. By this cunning they hope to separate the Prin-
 ces united, the quarrell being, in outward appearance,
 ended; and by this Intelligence it is euident, that the
Spiritual and *temporall* serue one another, and take
 turnes, and shift Interests, for mutuall aduantage. But
 if examples proue not categorically let it be conside-
 red, that the *spiritual* and *temporall Monarchies*, affe-
 cted by *Rome* and *Spain*, haue such mutuall interest
 and affinitie, and are so woven one within the other,
 that though natural affection, or other respects of gra-
 titude, may for a time retard, & perhaps firme against
 an open declaration, yet when necessity exacteth a
 resolution, the essence and mystery of the *Papacie* will
 preuaile: It must forsake father and mother, and
 cleaue to this double supremacie, for *Rome* and *Spain*
 must stand and fall together.

To proceed, when the *Romans* first transported
 their Legions into *Greece*, they were called in by diui-
 sion, to restore that shew of liberty to a part, which
 they absolutely took from all *Greeks*. Separation and
 dif-

Tacit.

Pierre
Math.

disunion by them fomented, opened a Port to a Dominion, which vnited, was like their *Phalanx*, not to be broken. And certainly this day, the *Spaniards* haue more hope to diuide the Princes colleagued, then to vanquish them: To which vse, they haue two dangerous Instruments, *Money* for the *Traitor*, and a *Pope* for the *Conscience*. It is obserued, that *Spaine* will buy Treasons dearer, then other Nations doe Faith; *Omne scelus externum cum latissia habetur*. And another noteth, that with a bit of parchment, the Pope will reduce any Kingdome to him disobedient, to the State of *Nauarre*, when the true King *Iohn Albres*, and Queene *Katherine* were expelled, *l'excommunication du Pape Iules x. equant en plus de forces que les armes de Castille*. And they are not ashamed, to glory with *Philip* of *Macedon*, another oppressor, that the victories gotten with words, are more sweet then those of the Sword: For euery Souldier can fight, and share the honor, but Arts and deceits of Treaties, are onely proper to the Prince and his Counsell.

I will not enter into a search of the Treaties of *Spaine*, nor how they are maintained; I will not censure Equiuation, nor rip vp our owne wounds: onely I may haue leaue to note, that anciently some States were branded, there was proverbially *Fides Punica*, and *Fedus Loerense*, and therefore I admonish all good Townes, which capitulate to haue no Cittadell built within their walls, to prouide, that none bee built vpon them.

By what blood, I know not, the Kings of *Spaine* are become heires vnto *Francis Sforza* a Duke of *Milan*, of whom, when *Lewes* the Eleuenth of *France*, pressed by

by

by the Confederate warre *du bien public*, wherein his brother, the Earle of *Caralois*, and the Duke of *Bretagney* were engaged, desired aydes of money, hee supplied the King with a good Counsell, to agree to any conditions, with any of the League, to disband, or to sowe a ieaiousie among them; preserving onely his Armes entire, with which, whē they were separated, he might humble them singly, at his pleasure; adding, that Princes lost no reputation, when they attained their ends. The History is vulgar, and the successe of that aduice, was, the flight of the Duke of *Berry*, the Ruine of *Charles of Burgundy*, and the beggery of *Bretagney*. I am perswaded, the *Spaniards* have confessed the Doctrine, and would come to an agreement with any of the Leagues, to disunite them: and the Breach once made is not easily repaired. Perhaps in this Coniuncture, they would (if honour would suffer it) consent to make a generall peace, vntill Armes were deposed; But here is the present danger, to loose an opportunity, not to bee recovered in many yeares. The Counsell of *Spaine* doth know at how great expence of time, and charge of Ambassages, these Leagues haue beene composing; which once dissolved, and lulled asleepe in security, would slowly returne to the present perfection. Therefore there is great Caution to be vsed, in giuing care to the Enchantments of a *Spanish Treaty*: For some tye nearer punishment, some make easie Conditions, but all singly, shall feelee the reuenge of their particular Interests, in the generall offence, *Occasione Polit.*
quā unitati, ea vltima incunt, qui per occasionem temporum ipsi neguerunt. The saunce that *Amilcar* gaue
 D the

Idem.

the Romans, when the *Insubrian* and *Alpine Nations* hung over them like a Cloud, *Ut ne patriam retinere sine periculo potuissent*, did more aduance their future Empire, then the three Battailles of his sonne *Hannibal* did hinder it, because hee gave them leaue to grow, and to haue no Enemy but *Carthage*; Therefore I haue resolued, there is no safety in any sudden accord, nor profit in accepting wasted Countries, vntill some ambitious blood bee let out, and the *Spanish Re-alls* consumed, and that Nation, and all the World brought to know, that it is possible to resist their greatnesse, and to abate their pride, and that in themselves they are truly humbled. *Hoc igitur, si quid aliud qui Remp: regunt sollicitè observandum meminerint; ut quos animos efferant qui in gratiam positio inimicitii redeunt, aut nouam amicitiam ineunt, ne ignorent quando temporibus cedentes, quando victis animis pacis condiciones amplectantur: ut ab illis quidem, seu temporum suorum Insidiatoribus, semper sibi cauant.*

Polib.

But seeing the end of all iust war is a good and safe peace, qua nihil pulchrius, nihil vtilius, & the meanes thereunto treaty, and the assurance thereof, publique faith; when it shall be necessary to negotiate a reconciliation with *Spaine*; Let it be accepted for a Rule, and foundation, that the one part is neuer secure what the other would haue, esse delum, quia credidi hostis, and when all reasons of State are narrowly enquired, and outward Counsells waighed with vtil and honestum; yet there is a secret fit to bee revealed; That the Kings of *Spaine* haue a Councell of Conscience, which may approue, or annull all that is, or shall be transacted, and dormant dispensations; which haue
reference

reference to Contingences *in ordine ad spiritualia*, to continue or dissolve all Conclusions: and this Retraict is formed like waxe, to take the Impression of the present aspect and necessity of affaires.

In the last treaty betweene *France and Spaine*, in which *Amiens* was surpris'd, when King *Phillip* saw the vigorous resolution of *Henry* the fourth to recover the Townes in *Picardy* by the sword, and that he had given expresse Command to the *President de Silerye* to consent to no Convention, so long as one foote of ground unsurrendered, remained in the possession of the *Spaniards*, considering, that the bounds of that Province were the entrance into *Artois*, and that victorious Armies extend their pretences with prosperity, especially the Title of *Souverainety* inuiting, and iustifying that progresse, he consulted first, his *Councell of State*, for the restitution, who, loath to remit anything of their stiffness, interposed the respects of honour, and so it was necessary, not to confesse inability to keepe them; but the wise King, knowing, to contend might draw the quarrell into the bowells of *Flanders*, resolving both to prevent the occasion, and to save his reputation, called his *Councell of Conscience* to deliver their opinion, who concluded, that hee could not by the Lawes of Religion vsurpe, nor dye with quietnesse of soule, if he restored not to every man his owne: and so those places were piously surrendered, which could not safely be maintained; But Conscience extended no further, then present question.

*Pierre
Mab.*

When the same *Catholique* King found it necessary, for *Spanish* reason of *State*, that his own brave and

eldest sonne should dye, Nature, and honour both, contended against the *Sentence*; but obligations were pretended and found, about humanity, as the Act was without humanity. The *Councell of Conscience*, and to these a *Iunto of Divines* were added, to resolve the tender Conscience of a Father, whether hee might with safety of Conscience pardon his owne Child of offences not yet fully published and therefore for ever suspected. These *Ephors* pronounced with weeping eies, *que le salut de son peuple, luy devoit estre plus cher, que celuy du son filz*, and the greatest fauour the Prince could obtaine, was to chooſe his death, that which was preferred and enjoyed by *Caſar*; & *ſacinus in uagloriam ſuit*.

Idem.

Cones.

Before *Alua* appeared neere *Portugall* with his Army, the Duke of *Oſſuna* and *Don Chriſtoſero di Mara*, were imploied to buy a party for the *Catholique King*, and they promiſed mountaines of Gold, to withdraw ſome of the Lords from *Don Antonio*. When the kingdom was ſetled, theſe did demand their recompence, and pleaded their Contracts in the name, and by vertue of the Kings order: Who remitted them, not to the Counſell of State, for they muſt juſtifie their owne Acts, but to that of Conſcience; Who gave ſentence, that if the Crowne belonged to *Don Antonio*, they could not rightfully conferre it vpon *Phillip*. If *Phillip* were the true heire, the Petitioners could not ſell their Allegiance to their owne Prince, for money; ſo that both wayes they were iudged Traytors, and their expected reward was changed into a ſhamefull pardon. I conclude, Nothing is ſure, without the approbation of this Court of Conſcience; Nothing

sovnure; as what Law, or equitie is the rule thereof. Therefore, that Peace onely will be secure with *Spaine*, which the two Counsellis of State, and Conscience shall together resolute, to be profitable, because necessarie.

To reduce this Discourse to a briefe Conclusion, If right iudgement of all *States* arise from their ends; If their Counsellis direct the way to discover them, and both being discerned to affect Conquest, must be actively opposed, lest they preuaile vpon a suffering modestie; If the ends of *Spaine* are apparantly *Vniuersall Monarchy*, and all their Counsellis, by Negotiations, intamous, and vnchristian, or by practices of fomenting Treasons, and diuisions among their neighbours, are directed to attaine that end; If the Pope must be alway obsequious for the assaury of their common ends; If there be no securitie of Peace, but in their pouerty: What other resolution can bee proposed, then that a liuely warre must bee transported to that part of the Dominions of *Spaine*, which being separated and cut off, the ancient modesty, and naturall constitution of that Kingdome may returne, to bee glad to liue in Peace, and eate quietly their owne Figs and Oliues. And because in great diseases, as well blood and ill humours must be diuerred, as the main Cure intended, so it wil be requisite, more for expedition then necessitie of health, to imitate other *States* in thrust. *France* in times past, had *Scotland*, *England*, *Burgundy*, and *Navarre*; *Spaine* their owne *Mooris* and *Barbary*; every kingdome had a back-friend vpon their Enemies. Such may be found vpon the weakest side of the House

of *Austria, Port d'Atlas*, drawne from their owne Confessions, that though the *Palatinate* be conquered, *Hungary & Bohemia* will neuer be secure vntill the Hills of *Transylvania* be made the Bulwarke of their Empire. But this would be too large a Digression.

There remaines onely of my purpose, to preuent a Question; why I haue chosen to dedicate, by this Epistle, the ensuing Translation, to you most worthy Senators of the *House of Commons*. For this boldnes may be subiect to various misinterpretations. No mā will suspect me of so great arrogance, as that I hope to teach you any thing you doe not know. But seeing your owne wisdom did first foresee the necessity of a warre with *Spaine*, and your owne zeale to the honour of your King, did counsell to vndertake it; I thought such forraigne Meditations as these, concurring with your owne thoughts, might also animate and nourish in you a spirit, and generous Resolution, vigorously to maintaine it. You know how much of the good successe of great Actions depends vpon reputation, and they haue aduanced much, who haue gotten opinion. As *Astrologers* make their iudgments vpon the first minute of time in Natiuities, so doth the world prognosticate of the happy successe of Princes, by the first coniunctures in their Kingdomes, and their first actions abroad: Therefore *instandum fama, nam vt prima ceciderint, fore vniuersa*. You know, Monies are the sinewes of warre, *Neque arma sine stipendijs, neque stipendia sine tributis, haberi queunt*. If you now restraîne your liberall hand, you expose your Prince to dishonor, and your Countrey to Consumption. It is Time onely that will macerate
England

Tacit.

Idem.

England, when without traffique and exchange, and that especially of *Germany*, our owne treasure must be exported to pay forraine Armies. *Qui citò dat, bis dat, Seneca.* and it is ill husbandry to doe that sparingly, which cannot be well done but at once and speedily. It will be time to be thrifty in the members and particulars, when the Head and the whole *State* is safe. And if you deferre vntill a lingring warre hath exhausted you, Remember that which remaines will not suffice, because *sera in fundo parsimonia; non enim minimum, Idem. sed & pessimum remanet.*

Your humble Seruant

Philo-Britannicos.

England when without regard and exchange, and
 therefore ally of Germany, our one treaty must be
 exported to my former Ally. But this is not
 and it is ill husbandry to do so sparingly, which
 cannot be well done at once and speedily. It will
 be more to be timely in the moment and gradually,
 when the Head and the whole State is the same.
 you desire still a lasting union with Scotland
 you must remember that which remains will not last;
 people live in friendship, but not in love, and
 for this reason.

Your humble servant

John Smith

THE REASONS OF the Resolution lately taken in the *Valteline* against the Tyrannie of the *Grisons* and the *Heretiques*.



He miseries of the unhappy *Valteline*, are now at last so notorious; so intollerable are the barbarous oppressions, and tyrannies, that the inhabitants thereof doe suffer, as slaves vnder the *Grisons*, their pretended Lords and Superiours; that they ought certainly to stirre vp great compassion in the mindes, and for their reliefe also, the force of Princes, and people farre remoued; And seeing this, contrary to all expectation and equirie, is not to them administred; now, that of themselves, with the meanes given them almost immediately from the hand of God, they haue procured to free them from so sharp a bondage, they might beleue, that for their iustification in that action before the World, there needed no other diligence: Neuerthelesse, seeing the malice of peruerse Ministers, the tongues and infernall pennes (with which Tyrants serue their owne occasions) haue too great credit with the vulgar, to obscure any truth, how cleare soeuer, to caluminate Innocency, and to procure hatred, it hath bene thought fit, to publish this *Treatise*, by which all men may be informed briefly, and truly, that what they haue done, is not onely right, by all *Divine* and *Humane Law*, but

worthy to be approued with high praises, of men iudicious, intelligent, and well affected to *Iustice* and *Christianity*, and to be protected by all States and Princes.

Omitting therefore colours, and artifice of words, proper to those ministers, who study nothing, but to deceive: Every one doth know, that all which a Subject can pretend, consisteth in *Soule, Life, Honor, and Goods*; Of all these, nothing remained to the miserable *Valloisnes*, wherein they were not extreemly oppressed, and tyrannized.

Concerning the *Soule*, it is sufficiently knowne, that the Inhabitants of that Vally were anciently bred, and nourished in the *holy Roman Catholique faith*; That therein, are many beautifull Churches, dedicated to the blessed *Virgin*, and other *Saints*, fauoured by God with graces and miracles, and therefore frequented by the deuour concourse of sundry Nations, to the great comfort and benefit of the People, who were by the *Catholiques* to them admitted, in them to celebrate *Masses*, and *Seruites*, for the heath of their soules, according to the *holy Roman Rite*. But now these *Barbarians*, giuen vp in prey, to the most peruerse Professors of every Heresie, and particularly of *Caluinisme*, haue so with all their industry wrought, that this poyson hath slid, and infected the whole Valley; from whence it may more easily spread into the bordering parts of *Italy*. And although first they did not apparently shew to take from the People, the vse of their ancient religion, yet their actions manifestly were thereunto addressed; seeing by their Decrees, they gaue power to the Heretiques, to prophane the old *Catholique Churches*, with their *Preachings*, and *Burials*; and doe take away the reuenues left to *Catholique Churches* for *Masses*, and other offices, which they transerre to *heretical Ministers*; That they inforce *Catholiques* to build them Churches; That they extinguish wholly Ecclesiastical Iurisdiction, depriving the *Catholiques* of the publication of *Indulgences*, and *Indulces*, and of Entrance into *Orders*, taking away all their Goods; and from the Pastoral Cure of their Bishop, Not suffering any to obey him, nor that he should come to visit or

comfort them; That they permit the Heterique Ministers openly to treade downe the *Sacraments* of the *Catholique* Church, and if any oppose, hee is suddainly, and barbarously punished in life and goods; That they exclude out of the *Vally*, almost all the orders of *Religion*, admitting on the other part, indistinctly, hereticall Ministers, of all Nations; That they erect *Seminaries* and lately hereticall Colledges, assigning them the profits, riches, Canonryes, and Benefices taken from the Curates and *Catholique* Church. Of all these, there are passed *Decrees*, *Statutes*, and open *Edicts*; And of Cases particular, there are publique Acts, whereof the memory is too fresh, and renewed by most cruell death inflicted on *Catholiques*, and *Religious* men, in the most Infamous manner imaginable. Now what else is this, but to vse manifest Tyrannie ouer the soules of the *Catholique* Subjects, to take from them those helpes wherewith they aduance their *saluation*, and their way to *Heauen*, and to enforce them to embrace a new Religion which leads them downe to *Hell*? The cause too much declares it selfe, there is no neede of greater exaggeration to make it manifest, and to shew it more intollerable.

In the rest, to demonstrate the wretched estate of the said *Vally*, it shall suffice, simply to represent the manner of Government vsed many yeares past, it shall be sufficient to say, that it hath beene giuen onely to him that would offer most money, without any the least Consideration of abilities or other parts necessary to such a charge; and that the *Commissaries* sent in apparance to remedy the forepast iniustice, were of the same quality, and sometimes worse. Inasmuch that both the one, and the other had for their ayne, and thereto onely did attend, to get their charges, and to heape up, by all imaginable meanes, so much Gold that therewith they might returne to their owne houses enrich't for ever.

From hence it proceeded, that the liues of poore Innocents were a thousand waies ensnared, and often taken away with open iniustice, at the instance of their *Enemies*, who with great summes of money bought them, and sometimes

after sharpe Imprisonment, and other torments, hardly were dismissed naked, by the price of all their substance, which remained openly to the Officers without any shame, in so much security, that the miserable oppressed, both in life, and goods, durst not thereof lament.

By the same meanes, the estate of the Subject in Ciuill Causes was alwaies in great danger: For the Magistrates being publicquely mercenary, it often happened that some did loose by an vniust sentence dearely bought of the Aduersary, and others, to preferue them against Iniustice, were forced to present a great part to the Iudge.

No Sentence although confirmed & passed in Iudgement, whether Ciuill or Criminall, was euer secure; because the *Successor*, to dig out money, did renew the trouble to the party acquitted, and for a new price did often recal without any respect, that which of others, though iustly, had beene iudged.

Safe-Conducts were broken at their pleasure, and publique faith with vaine pretences violated, to deprive life, that by such death, they might enrich themselves. Lawes and Statutes were not now with arts, and Stratagems deluded, but openly despised, and trodden vnder foot, as if all had beene freely giuen to them in prey.

Orphans and Widdows, and others of that Condition, so much recommended, both by diuine and humane law to the protection of Princes, and Magistrates, as vnable to helpe themselves, by infamous meanes, did remaine wholly exposed to the avarice of rauening wolues, to the extreame grife and compassion of good men. On the other part, it often occurred, that tho's wicked men, which had offended others, in life, goods, and honor, being fallen into the hands of Iustice, in stead of exemplary punishment, were for great bribes, sometimes by vniust Iodgement absolved, sometimes vnder couler of feined escape, let free out of prison to the great oppression and affliction of those, whom they had wronged.

There were some numbers of infamous persons, gracious
with

with the officers of Iustice, and by them rewarded, onely because they served as Instruments, many and many wayes, to betray the life and goods particularly of Catholiques; From whence did often follow the destruction and ruine, now of one, now of another family, alwayes of the most ancient, and honorable of the Valley.

Lastly, who shall well consider that which the *Sicilians* did for three yeares suffer in the *Roman* Common wealth, vnder the gouernment of the infamous *Verres*, shall find that the vnhappy *Valtelines* haue endured much more, a longer time from the hands of so many, worse then *Verres*; and perhaps shall not find, any other gouernment so infamous, and which so well resembles that, as this of the *Grisons* in the Valley, which should more clearly be manifested, if it were here necessary to represent all the Cases, and their circumstances one by one, as it was for *Cicero*, handling his Cause for ends far different from ours.

That which makes our Case more full of compassion, is, that when the miserable oppressed, haue attempted the refuge of their *Superiors* for remedy against so many Tyrannies, and Acts of Injustice; the officers themselves, haue opposed with *seuerest* banishments, and imprisonments, those, who for the publike good intermedled, and when it hath happened, that all Impediments vanquished, the Procurators of of the Valley haue arriued at the Community of the *Three- Leagues*, and haue informed particularly their many, and excessive grieuances; in the end, after hauing receiued, in diuers places, such affronts, that scarcely Slaves could suffer, they haue rested deluded; without effect, or any prouision.

These things without doubt, are sufficient to take away all hope, ever to find, vnder that gouernment, any ease of so many miseries. But there are other accidents thereunto added, whereby the Subiects are brought into vnder desperation. The *Assembly* in the towne of *Tosana*, is already notorious, which was applied to nothing else but the destruction of good, and *Catholique men*, as well *Grisons*, as *Valtelines*.

In the *Diet* there called, many banishments, and many Capital Condemnations were decreed: amongst which was that against *Nicola Rusca* Arch-Priest of *Sondrio*, a Priest of most innocent life, and a true *Martyr* of *Christ*, tormented and put to death, with all cruelty, and possible infamy, without any other fault, then being a good *Catholique*, & a priest. Now these Injuries and Cruelties having necessitated some *Catholique* Communities, to seeke redresse of so many evils, using their utmost forces, they obtained that these *Sentences* being reuiwed, were, as barbarous, and most vniust, reuoked. But a little time the remedy lasted, because these people, stirred vp by the fury of their Ministers, and which were imported, moued by the practices and monies of that Neighbour *Potestate* (who *per ratione de facto* makes any thing full, how contrary soeuer to the honour of God, and maintenance of his holy *Catholique* faith) returned to reassemble in the City of *Tauos*, where, in their new *Diet*, they have not onely reconfirmed all the euils of that of *Tosana*, but added others, making *Heads* of the Persecution, & Executioners of their Arrests against *Catholiques*; the same hereticall Ministers, and by this occasion their tyrannicall gouernment is so visibly established, (particularly by the Assistance and push of that *Potestate*, the principall Cause of so many euils to the *Christian Common Wealth*) that the Subjects can expect no other, but a declination to a worse Condition, and suddainly to arrive at the height and extremity of all euils, now already approaching.

Admitting what hath bin already copendiously deliuered, yet in such manner, that the Reader can neuer apprehend the degree, whereto their tyrannicall gouernment was truly ascended, that seeing, as was in the beginning said, all diuine and humane law did permit the *Vatolines*, to withdraw themselves by all possible meanes from so great a Tyranny, it will appeare so cleare to euery one, that it will bee too much vanity to heape vp reasons, proofes, and authorities, in a matter in it selfe vndoubted, euen when it were discussed betweene true Subjects, and Vassalls, and their naturall and absolute Lord.

But

But now by so much more shall it appeare lawfull, when two things shall bee considered by the one, that the ancient *Capitulations* of the Valley with the *Grisons* (following the end hereof) doe show rather a confederation between them, then a true subiection; and doe speake in such sort, that the Empire exercised by them in the Valley, is discovered to bee a meere usurpation; particularly, the *Valdians* doe binde themselves to the *Grisons*, with limitation to things lawful & honest; besides, the obligation is made jointly to the Bishop of Coira, and the *Three Leagues*; where now, these Tyrants having *de facto* excluded with *Sacrilegious* exaltation, their Bishop, have alone usurped that, which neither to them, nor him, was granted. The other thing is, that whatsoever the *Valdians* yet have done, hath beene prosecuted onely with Intelligence and helpe of the sounder part of the *Grisons* themselves, and not to rebell against their Lords (for such certainly the *Three Leagues* neuer were) but simply to reduce themselves to the true State declared in their *Capitulations*, so far forth as the mutations, alterations, and other Accidents would permit them.

The Agreements between the Bishop of Coira,
and the Community of the Three Leagues of the
one part: and of the *Valdians* of the other, in the
yeare 1513. Which appeare by the indented
Instrument at Iane of the *Grisen League*,
kept in the Rolls of Coira.

Primo, quod homines vallis Tellinae, & Communitatis Tilyvetinae, & debeant Reverendissimo Domino Episcopo Carisiensi, & tribus Ligis, perpetuis temporibus, in omnibus & singulis iocis, & honestis, parere, & obedire.

Secundo, quod praestati homines vallis Tellinae, & Communitatis Tilyvetinae, & esse debeant, nostri Vix: Reverendissim Domini Episcopi Carisiensi. & omnium trium Ligarum cari, & fideles Confederati, & tales permanere & pro tempore quo necesse fuerit, ad

ad Dietas nostras vocari, in Concilijs pariformiter sedere, & assu-
sulare omnes id, quod eis Communisatibus magis expedire videbi-
tur: & quando ad Dietas sic, & prout supra, convocantur, non
debeant de quolibet Tertiis, & Communicate Tilijs, etiam in-
tere Consiliarium.

Tertio, quod homines vallis Tellina & Communisatibus Tilijs
gaudeant & utantur eorū privilegijs & antiquis consuetudinibus,
si saltem fuerint de iure laudabiles & Deo consensu.

Quarto, quod prelibatus Reverendiss. D. Episcopus Curien-
sis, & omnes Lighe sint & esse debeant dictis hominibus vallis Tellina
& Communisatibus Tilijs, adiutorio & consilio ex a. Casertan Ma-
iestatem & Ducatum Mediolanensem, aut alibi, ubicunque oportuerit,
& liberi fiant à taleis, & similibus, vti homines trium Ligarum.

Quinto, quod homines vallis Tellina, & Communisatibus Tilijs
teneantur, singulis annis dare, & solvere Reverendissimo Episcopo
Curien- & omnibus tribus federibus, Tadenis, mille in promptu
denarijs, persolvendos per quemlibet, seu quoslibet, habentes bona
in dicta Valle ad ratam bonorum suorum, exemptum, & non ex-
emptum.

TO THE
MOST MIGHTY

CATHOLIQUE

King of Spaine

D. PHILIP THE THIRD.

Sacred, Royall, Catholique Majestie:



HE Manifest printed in the name of
the *Katholique*, whereby the Reasons of
the Resolution, lately by them taken
against the *Evangelical* *Christians* that
Heretiques charge, are fully and plainly
greatly set forth to all which may, what
silly doe, comprehend from whence
and why in that particular *Passe* the

Valentine having no more at all, much less any farther
in. Whereupon, having proposed, seriously and discourse
to bring to light, that truth, which others doe endeavour
to wrap up in darknesse, I have thought it an act of Justice, and
of no lesse service to you, *Myself*, whose mind is fully th

gious, it may be feared, lest it become deceived with a false appearance of Piety and Religion, with which the Devil is perpetuall enemy of Princes well inclined, which oftentimes transforme himselfe into an Angell of light; and to offer his help, as a guide, in the right path of Iustice and honesty, to no other end, but to draw them without discovery, into the crooked way of iniquitie and tyranny. But the better to ground my Discourse, I will beginne somewhat high, and imitate that good Architect, who purposing to build a strong Tower, by how much he designeth to raise the top, so much lower he layeth the foundation.

That of *Religion*, (ô Sacred, Royall, Catholique *Majesty*) is certainly a very powerfull object, the which, though fained and disguised, ever raiseth a great commotion in the mindes of them, who thereof make profession. For this cause many Princes of the world, either by the counsell of ill ministers, or through the greedinesse of their owne desires, wherewith they embrace *Provinces, Kingdomes, and Empires*, and yet not satiated, when they want all other just title to make warre, and to seize by violence, that which they cannot pretend by Iustice, suddenly they take the pretence of *Religion*, vnder which Cloake, they doe not onely seeke to couer their vnjust Actions, and to make them appeare lawfull and holy, but therewith they inuite all men to fauour their attempts. Many times also with an affection of holy zeale, with true and vnfaulced Religion, with most iust and honest Titles, they vndertake some Enterprises truly holy: But the Devil, who still practiseth to draw payson from the fairest flowers, and serue himselfe with good, for an instrument of euill; in the end reduceth that very Religion to proper interest; that zeale of Piety hee conuerteth to zeale of Ambition; and the most iust Titles, hee vseth to the service of Tyrannicall Monarchy. Therefore, where ordinarily the question of the Acquisition of *Summe* is handled, a iust Prince ought very well to consider, if hee haue lawfull cause, and honest right to possesseth them; and where hee knowes no other Title, then that of Religion, much more hee ought to be aduised, that hee be

not a faire and honest Couer, of a foule and wicked Con-
tounesse.

Don Pedro the tenth King of *Aragon*, and third of that
name, having raised the greatest forces in his power, passed
therewith into *Africa*, to make warre vpon the *Mores*, the
ancient enemies of our *Christian Religion*: For which holy
purpose he received great Aides of money from *S: Lewis* the
most *Christian* King of *France*: What more worthy action
could he haue vnderaken? Who would haue found occasion
to blame him? yet vnder the herbe lay hid the Serpent. This
King had sometime before sent into *Sicily* *Iohn Prætorius*, who
offended by *Charles* of *Arroy* his Lord, desired to be reuen-
ged, disguised in the habit of a Fryar, to stirre the mindes of
that Nation to rebell, who, for some ill vsage did shew them-
selues distastd with the *French* Governement. *Iohn Prætorius*
effected his businesse: The Rebellion of the *Sicilians*, and
the destruction of the *French* followed: King *Charles* armed
for the recovery of his lost Kingdome, and the Rebels to re-
sist him: In the meane while *Peter* of *Aragon* (that scarcely
having toucht the Coast of *Africa*, was carryed to *Sardinia*
to bencher *Sicily*) observing the time, and occasion of his
designefixing, suddenly went to *Palermo*, where hee was re-
ceiued with great ioy and gladnesse, and published, and pro-
claimed King of the *Sicilians*, who flockt to him from all
parts of the Island. See now your *Maistris* with what infi-
dious and cursed Art, vnder the colour of Religion, the King
Don Pedro faining to haue taken Armes against the En-
emies of *Christianity*, rooke that Kingdome from a *Christian*
King, and salary of Holy Church; and which is more, with
the help of that Gold, which he had receiued from the most
Christian King, right Brother of King *Charles*: Whereupon
the blessed Pope *Martin* the fourth, a man of renowned
sancture (of whom, as the *Spanish* *Papists*, and other *Histo-*
ries doe report, were seene many miracles after his death) did
excommunicate and deprive him of his Kingdome, and ab-
solue his Subjects of their Oath of Allegiance, giving power
to any Prince to persecute him, as a common Enemy. Perhaps
the

Iosephus Ban-
us Hist. Sicil.
par. 1. li. 8.
Genealo de Ig-
lesias Hist.
Pauis. par. 1.
lib. 5. cap. 45.
M. Anton. Sa-
bel. p. 2. Enead. 9.
li. 7.

Aglician ubi su-
pra.

the holy Bishop thought that, with this Negro, the King Don Pedro would be brought to acknowledge his error, and to restore what he had ill gotten: But it proved without any fruit; for hee which made it lawfull, vizually to usurpe the rightes of others, did little feare Ecclesiasticall censures for their restitution.

And what more *Catholique*, and more pious Enterprise could bee imagined; then that of *India*, for the enlargement of the sacred Gospel? What iuster title, then that which the highest Bishop *Alexander* the Sixt did grant to the *Catholique* Kings *Ferdinand*, and *Isabell*, in the new world, ordeyning them as *supreme* Emperours, over these Kings and Infidell Kingdomes? But after, what thing was more violent, then the Conquest of the immediat Dominion of these Countreies? I call it a Conquest, to enter with warre, to subdue the people, before they were allured with the peacefull voice of preaching, and to take away the life of lawfull *Princes*, and Naturall *Princes*, to usurpe their *States*; notwithstanding they did not hinder the promulgation of the Gospel, but rather were ready to receive the holy Faith. And it is a certain truth, that when also they were not converted whilst yet they did not oppose the progresse of *Christian Religion*, they could not be, by the way of warre, subiected: that being contrary to the will of *Christ*, who said, *Spesiosius pedis Evangelizantium pedibus*. And much lesse could they bee spoiled of their Dominion, seeing the same *Christ*, when he came into the world, did declare, that the empire also of the *Graciles* is just, & lawfull, commanding even his own *Apostles* to pay tribute to *Cesar*. Neither is it to bee beleaved, that the *Pope*, when hee granted to the *Catholique* Kings, the Sovereigne Empire of the *Indies*, had any thought to preiudice the immediat Dominion of *Gracile* *Princes*, because he could not doe it. The which the great *Atahualpa* King of *Peru* did know by the onely light of nature, to whom *Prior Vasquez* *de valverde*, made the most foulish and abominable oration to reduce him to the holy faith, that could be imagined: amongst other Curious things which he spake, this was one.

messengers are so cruell, so impious, and so horrible Tyrants; that they should lose, for this onely Cause, their goods, lands, liberty, wives, children, and life; which is a thing, unreasonable, absurd, & worthy of all reproach, infamy, & it Hell itselfe.

Thus, wisely speaking of the same matter, though vpon another occasion, discourseth the Reuerend Bishop of Chiappa, a principall Citie of New Spaine in the Indies, called Fryar Bartholmy dalle Case, by Nation a Spanyard, by birth a Smith an. but zealous of Iustice, and a friend of truth, in his booke of the destruction of the Indies.

But returning to our Subiect; The King Atabaliba was iustly scandalized, and grieuously moued, at this so learned preaching, that answering to euery point, amongst other things he said these words.

*Aglesas ubi su-
pra.*

*Obedecer al Papa no me esfa bien; por que deuo de ser loco; pa-
os dâ lo que no es suyo, y me manda dexar el Reyno que yo heredo de
mi padre, y quiera, que yo le dâ à qui en no conose.* That is.

To obey the Pope is not good for mee, because hee must needs be a foole, seeing he giueth that to another, which is none of his, and commands me to leaue that Kingdome, which I haue inherited from my father, and would, I should giue it to one, that I know not what he is.

He could not certainly answer more wisely; according to the Proposition; which was also false; Seeing the Pope was not so void of Iudgement, to haue granted any such conquest to the Catholique King, or any other, especially by the way of warre, as the holy Preacher with threats, did dis-
firme; being in it selfe, vniust and wicked: And therefore the aforementioned Bishop of Chiappa earnestly defending the truth, did send vpon this matter thirty propositions to the Royall Councell of India, printed in Cinis in the yeare 1552. In the 23 whereof, he thus speaketh.

*Vesouo di Chi-
appelle. 30.
proposizioni.*

*Siouz gallos primero por guerra, es forma, y nia contraria de la
ley, y yugo suauo, y carga legera, y mansedumbre de Iesu Christo.
Es la propia, que lleuâ Mihoma, y lleuaron los Romanos, con que
inquietaron, y robaron el mundo. Es la, que tienen oy, los Tur-
cos, y Moros, y que comença à tener, el Xarife. Y por tanto, es
iniquissima*

iniquissima, tyrannica, infamissima del mellisimo nombre de Christo, causadora de infinitas muchas blasfemias contra el verdadero Dios, y contra la religion Christiana; Como tenemos longissima experiencia, que se ha hecho y oy se hace, en las Indias, por que estimando Dios, ser el mas cruel, y mas iniusta, y sin piedad, que oy en los Dioses, y por consiguiente es impositiva de la Conversion de qualquiera Infieles. y que ha engendrado impossibilidad de que jamas sean Christianos en à quel orbe, gentez infinitas. That is.

To subdue them by warre, is a forme and way contrary to the law, to the sweet yoke, to the easie burthen, and to the meeknesse of Iesus Christ; It is the same which *Mahomet*, and the *Romans* did hold, wherewith they did disturbe and violate the world; it is the same which at this day the *Turks* and *Mooris* maintaine, and the *Xerif* doth beginne to practice; and therefore it is most wicked, tyrannicall, infamous to the glorious name of Christ; the cause of infinite and new Blasphemies against the true God, and Christian Religion, as we haue by long experience knowne, to haue beene, and yet, vsed amongst the *Indians*; For they haue an opinion of God, that he is the most cruell, the most vniust, and merckles of all other gods. And by Consequence, it is the hindrance of the Conversion of all sorts of Infidels; and hath caused an impossibilitie, that multitudes of People should euer become Christians.

In the last proposition whereof, he concludes.

De todo lo susodicho en fuerza de consequencia necessaria se sigue, que: sin perjuicio delzistado, y senorio soberano, que à los Reys de Castilla pertenece, sobre aquel orbe de las Indias, todo lo que en ellas se ha echo, assi en lo de las iniustias y tyrannicas conquistas; como en lo de los repartimientos, y en commendas, ha sido nulla y de ningun valor, no fuerza de derecho. That is.

From all the fore alleged matters, it is necessarily inferred that without prejudice of the title, and Soueraigne Dominion, which appertaines to the Kings of Castile in that world of India, all that hath beene done, as well concerning the vniust, and Tyrannicall Conquest, as the *Dimission*, and *Commenda's*, is void, of no value, and unlawfull.

And

And in the seventh Rule of his *Confessories*, the same good Prelate uttereth these words :

Vescovo di Chiappa nel Confessario.

Todas las cosas, que se han echo en todas estas Indias, assi en la entrada de los Espanoles en cada provincia de ellas, como en la conquista y seruidumbre, en que pusieron estas gentes, con todos los malis y fines, y todo lo demas, que con ellas, y cerca de ellas se ha echo, ha sido contra todo derecho natural, y derecho de las gentes, y tambien contra derecho divino, y por tanto, es toda iniusta, ingratissima, y digna de todo fuego infernal, y por consiguiente, nulla, inualido, y sin algun valor, ni momento de derecho.

That is :

All things which haue beene done in these *Indies*, as well in the Entrance of the *Spaniards* to every Province thereof, as in the subiection, and seruitude to which they haue reduced this People, with all the meanes, and ends, and all the besides, which therein, or concerning them, hath been done, is against all Law of Nature and Nations, and contrary to the Law of God ; and therefore it is wholly vniust, wicked, tyrannicall, and worthy of Hell-fire, and by consequence annihilated, inualid, of no force, nor iuridicall power.

Certainly (*Sacred Maiesie*,) The Assertions of this Prelate are such, that they strike horror openely in hearing, and almost resemble open Maledictions of a minde subdurd to Passion : But who shall diligently reade all his workes, and shall consider distinctly every circumstance, shall clearly know, that these are apprehensions of truth, exprest with an holy zeale, free from all passion, or interest, onely in the defence of right.

Friar Bartholomy della Gase spent the most part, of his life in *India*, Forty nine continued yeares (as himselfe affirms) hee saw that which therein was done ; and Thirty foure years he laboured in the study of holy Lawes, to be well instructed in the knowledge of Iustice.

He affirmeth nothing which he doth not learnedly proue.

All his workes were directed to his owne King, and the Royall Counticell : before whom more than once hee appeared in person, to entreat of this Business. Whom can then belicue

believe, that hee durst say that which was not apparant truth? Men use not to speake ill of Princes so their owne faces. Ignorance of the fact, or of the Law cannot be objected to him, so much practised, and who had so long studied these matters. Argument of affection, or of passion, cannot be imagined in a Prelat of most exemplar life, who renounced his Bishopricke, onely to assist in the Court of his Prince, in the defence of a People, from any interest in him as farre removed as our world is distant from theirs. From whence of necessity it must be said, that onely the love of truth did move him, and the invincible reasons wherewith he maintaines all his Assertions, doe most clearly demonstrate it. So that your Majestie, who is as much a lover of truth, as of God, considering with a settled minde, all the fore-alsledged discourses, will in the sinceritie of your conscience, conclude that which in the beginning was declared; That Enterprises vnderaken onely for Religion, are often reduced to proper Interest, and that Titles, Dignities, and Authorities, granted with most holy zeale, by the Vicar of Christ, have bene perversly abused.

It is very true, that this good Prelate hath indeavoured to excuse the *Catholique* Kings, by saying that the aboue mentioned *enills*, were against their Intentions, clearly expressed in many orders, and holy instructions, given to those crooked ministers, who observed no part of them.

But this excuse is not admitted of wise men, yea rather confuted with most strong Reasons.

First, because it hath not bene found, that the *Catholique* Kings did ever punish any of those Ministers (vnless perhaps some for Rebellion) notwithstanding their wickednesse was manifest vnto them, which the fore-said Bishop doth more then once affirme.

Secondly, because so many iniquities by them committed were neuer retracted, in particular, the Dissolutions of the *Commenda's*, vpon which the said Author doth exclaim, even to the Heavens.

Lastly, because the immediate Dominions are incorpored

ted vniuerſally and particularly with the Supreme Domini-
ons, and this is euident in fact, all ſaculty being taken from
them, which had it to chooſe their Prince; and the inheri-
tance, from them, to whom the eſtates by ſucceſſion did ap-
pertain; of whom ſome miraculoſly eſcaping alive, in that
deſtruction of the *Indies*, (lamentably by this Biſhop deſcri-
bed) were transported into *Spain*; left by the loue of their
Naturall Subjects, they ſhould aſpire to recouer that, of
which againſt reaſon, they were deprived. And yet to this
day, the *Iſſue* of that great *Moteczuma* Emperor of *Mexico*,
doe liue in the Court of your *Maeſtie*, prohibited vpon
paine of life, to goe out of *Caſtile*. From which moſt true
reaſons, the wiſedome of your *Maeſtie* may eaſily compre-
hend, how little the aforeſaid excuſes doe preuaile, and how
great *Reckons*, the *Catholique* Kings haue to render to God,
of the vſurpation of the immediate Dominion of the *Indies*,
vnder pretence of amplifying the *Chriſtian* faith.

The religious zeale of the King *Don Philip* the ſecond,
father of your *Maeſtie*, cannot inconfiderately bee ouerpaſt;
when, inuited by the *Pope* hee tooke Armes againſt *Henry*
the fourth, King of *France*: The cauſe of *Chriſt* was in
queſtion, againſt a publique *Heretique* and Enemy of *Chriſt*.
It was expedient that the ſacred *Catholique* King, Proteſtor
of the Church of *Chriſt*, ſhould abandon his owne Affaires of
Flanders to defend that of *Chriſt*. The which *Heraigne* Ac-
tion (the fruit of perfect vertue, which is rarely found among
Princes of the World) did beget, in many, wonder, and in-
credulity, and in others, it cauſed too malicious ſuſpition.

Bania Pontif.

par. 3. vita di

Origen. 14. C. 9.

Algunos (ſaith the *Spaniſh* Biſhop) *que juzgan en la virtud*
apena por la malitia propia, no querrian creer, que el zelo de Rey
Carbolico fueſſe tan grande, che deſamparando ſu haziendo propia,
con tan gran coſta fueſſe a remediar la agena.

That is,

Some, who iudge the vertue of others, by their owne ma-
lice would not belecue, that the zeale of the *Catholique* King
could be ſo great, that leauing the care of his owne buſineſs,
hee ſhould, at ſo imminente Charge, relieue the neceſſities of
others,

Behold

Behold the wonder, and the incredulity.

Otros (as after followes in the history) *que no bien conocian* Baula p. 3. vita de Innocencio 9. c.9.
la Religion y Christianidad del gran Filippo II. fundaron en esta
jornada un gran edificio, diciendo, que se queria hazer Rey de
Francia; e ponesse de su mano; asegurandosse en sus Estudios comar-
canos; y sacando à bueltas no pequeño interes.

That is,

Others that did not well vnderstand the *Religion* and *Christianitie* of the *Grand Phillip* the second, did from this vndertaking lay the foundation of a great building; saying that he desired to make himselfe King of *France*, or to place a King of his owne dependance, hereby assuring his owne neighbouring *States*, and drawing to himselfe no little advantage.

Behold the malice, and that truly very great, against that most innocent *Monarch*, who did clearly show, to haue no other interest, nor further desire, then that the *Catholique Religion* should not be utterly ruined, as it was freshly threatened in the Kingdome of *France*.

But what cannot the *Devill* doe? *Saints* and *Heremits* are rarely secure, much lesse Princes in Courts. Scarcely hath *Henry* begunne, inspired by the holy Ghost, to shew himselfe willing to be reduced to the wombe of *holy Church*, to be truly a most *Christian King*; when the *Catholique* fell vpon a Councell, by no meanes to consent that hee should bee King of *France*. And yet to him the *Rights* of that Kingdome did appertaine; nor for other cause was the opposition, but for being an *Heresique*; whence the impediment being taken away, it was most vnjust any longer to withstand him. But it was whispered in the eares of the *Catholique King*, by certaine *Machiavelles*, rather then *Disciples*, that the Coronation of *Henry* might bring some danger to his Maiestie for the kingdome of *Nauarre*, and the Countrey of *Burgundy*, vpon which *States* the Crowne of *France* hath pregnant pretensions; and that his Maiestie had cast away in vaine, so much Gold, and spent so much blood of his people in that warre.

G a

Therefore,

ted vniuersally and particularly with the Supreme Dominions, and this is euident in fact, all faculty being taken from them, which had it to choose their Prince; and the inheritance, from them, to whom the estates by succession did appertain; of whom some miraculously escaping alive, in that destruction of the *Indies*, (lamentably by this Bishop described) were transported into *Spain*, left by the loue of their Naturall Subiects, they should aspire to recouer that, of which against reason, they were deprived. And yet to this day, the Issue of that great *Moteczuma* Emperor of *Mexico*, doe liue in the Court of your *Maiestie*, prohibited vpon paine of life, to goe out of *Castile*. From which most true reasons, the wisdom of your *Maiestie* may easily comprehend, how little the aforesaid excuses doe preuaile, and how great *Reuerence*, the *Catholique* Kings haue to render to God, of the vsurpation of the immediate Dominion of the *Indies* vnder pretence of amplifying the *Christian* faith.

The religious zeale of the King *Don Philip* the second, father of your *Maiestie*, cannot inconsiderately bee ouerpast when, inuited by the *Pope* hee tooke Armes against *Henry* the fourth, King of *France*: The cause of *Christ* was in question, against a publique *Heresique* and Enemy of *Christ*. It was expedient that the sacred *Catholique* King, Protector of the Church of *Christ*, should abandon his owne Affaires of *Flanders* to defend that of *Christ*. The which *Heresique* Action (the fruit of perfect vertue, which is rarely found among Princes of the World) did beget, in many, wonder, and incredulity, and in others, it caused too malicious suspicion.

Benia Pontif.
par. 3. viza di
Origor. 14. C. 9.

Aluonno (saith the Spanish Bishop) *que juzgamos la virtud agena por la malitia propia, no querian creer, que el zelo de Rey Catholico fuesse tan grande: che de sanparando su baziendo propia, con tan gran costa fuesse a remediar la agena.*

That is,

Some, who iudge the vertue of others, by their owne malice would not beleue, that the zeale of the *Catholique* King could be so great, that leauing the care of his owne businels, hee should, at so immense Charge, relieue the necessitie of others,

Behold

Behold the wonder, and the incredulity.

Others (as after follows in the history) *qui ne bien connoiscien* Bauia p. 3. vita
de Innocentio 9.
c. 9.
la Religion 7 Christianidad del gran Filippo II. fundaron en esta
jornada un gran edificio, diciendo, que se queria hazer Rey de
Francia; e ponelle de su mano; asegurandosse en sus Estados comar-
camos; 7 sacando a bueltas no pequeno intereses.

That is,

Others that did not well vnderstand the Religion and Christianitie of the Grand Phillip the second, did from this vndertaking lay the foundation of a great building; saying that he desired to make himselfe King of France, or to place a King of his owne dependance, hereby assuring his owne neighbouring States, and drawing to himselfe no little advantage.

Behold the malice, and that truly very great, against that most innocent *Adonatus*, who did clearly show, to haue no other interest, nor further desire, then that the Catholique Religion should not be utterly ruined; as it was freshly threatned in the Kingdome of France.

But what cannot the Deuill doe? *Saints* and *Heremits* are rarely secure, much lesse Princes in Courts. Scarcely hath *Henry* begunne, inspired by the holy Ghost, to shew himselfe willing to be reduced to the wombe of holy Church, to be truly a most Christian King, when the Catholique fell vpon a Councell, by no meanes to consent that hee should bee King of France. And yet to him the Rights of that Kingdome did appertaine; nor for other cause was the opposition, but for being an *Heretique*; whence the impediment being taken away, it was most vnjust any longer to withstand him. But it was whispered in the eares of the Catholique King, by certaine *Machiuelles*; rather then *Disciples*, that the Coronation of *Henry* might bring some danger to his Maiestie for the kingdome of *Nauarre*, and the Countie of *Burgundy*, vpon which States the Crowne of France hath pregnant pretensions; and that his Maiestie had cast away in vaine, so much Gold, and spent so much blood of his people in that warre.

Therefore.

Pontif p. 4. vita
de Cle. 8. Cap. 56

La tarde antes (so faith Bavie) que hiziesse la absolution, el Duque de Sessa Ambascador del Rey Catolico, de su parte, hizo al Papa proteccion, que la absolucion, que su Santidad pensaua dar a Enrico, no perjudicasse al derecho de su Rey en lo tocante al Reyno de Navarra, y Comado de Borgona, ni a los gastos que hania echo en la conseruation della fce Catholico, en el Reyno de Francia, y a instansia y requesta del: y que no pensaua dexar las armas hasta cobrarlos. Oyo el pontifice atenta mente la proteccion, y tomo della el Duque instrumento publico. Avertio antes a su Santidad, de algunos inconuenientes che temia, havian de resultar de la absolucion, que tenia determinado dar a Enrico.

That is,

The Euening before the Absolution should be given, the Duke of Sessa, Ambassadour of the Catholique King, on his behalfe protested to the Pope, that the absolution which his Holines intended to giue to Henry, should not preiudice the Reasons of his King in that which concerned the Kingdome of Nauar, and the Countie of Bourgundy, nor in the expence which he had made for the Conseruation of the Catholique faith in the Kingdome of France, at his instance and request, and that he determined, not to depose Armes, vntill he had recouered them. The high Bishop attentiuely heard the Protest, and the Duke tooke thereof a publique instrument, hauing first aduertised his Holines of some inconuenients which he feared might result from the Absolution, which was purposed to be giuen to Henry.

These Protests did appeare, to men of sound iudgement, ill grounded pretences, & the alleaged inconuenients false foundations of that great Building, which those malicious aboue mentioned did figure to themselves. They said it was requisite to the strict Christianity, which the Catholique King professed, (all humane Interest deposed) to aduance with all his spirits, the conversion of Henry, and to exhort the high Bishop, affectionately to receiue the prodigall Sonne, seeing he was returned penitent to his fathers house, and to take in to his Armes the strayed sheepe, which hee had now found,

to carry him to the Sacred Sheepfold of *Christ*: They did blame, as a work very little *Catholique*, but rather as a suggestion of the *Devils*, to attempt the hinderance of that Absolution, which onely hee ought to haue procured, for the quiet of *France*, and the publique good of *Christendome*, which if it had not succeeded, might haue wholly alienated that Kingdome from the *Church*, as the like had done in *England*: They did consider that it was wide of the purpose to feare any preiudice in the kingdome of *Nauarre*, and the County of *Burgundy*, seeing the Absolution did not deriue any more right to *Henry*, then that which any other, which should be King of *France* might haue.

But aboue all, the pretensions of the expence made in the warre, did giue them greatest scandall. They discourfed, if onely for the loue of *Christ*, the *Catholique* King had disbursed that money, why was he not content to haue *Christ*, his *Debtor*? But how a *Debtor*? if hee doth enioy of the Patrimony of *Christ*, aboue *Three Millions* yearly Reuenue, granted him by the *Vicar of Christ*, of *Tenths*, *Subsidies*, and *Croisades*, and other meanes, with condition to employ them against the Enemies of *Christendome*, why takes hee not penoe in hand, and comes not to a distinct Account, of the Receipts and Issues, well balancing *id dare, can s' bouere*, and hee shall finde himselfe not Creditor of one *Maravedi*, but certainly *Debtor* of many and many *Millions*, spent, not according to his obligation, for *Christianity*, but for the interest of his owne private *Estates*? What then doth hee pretend? Why then doth hee not lay downe Armes? Vpon what hath hee fixed his thoughts? To what end doth hee aspire? If he prosecute this warre, he prosecuteth an vniust warre. How doth that correspond with the zeale of *Religion*, for which, onely at first he undertooke it? What change is this? Certainly it proceedeth not from the right hand of the most *Hgh*. But bee it so, let him follow the warre, as his owne pleasure, there is no remedy, *Henry* shall be absolved, and shall bee King of *France*; Doth the *Catholique* King perhaps hope, with his owne forces, and by strong hand, to deprive him?

If he was not able, with the vnion of so many other Princes; to hinder him from taking possession of his Kingdome, how shall he now be able to expell him, hauing secure footing in his *Throne*? He attempts a dangerous Action. Here they proceed with witty and politike Consideration, that a good issue of this warre against *Henry*, not ensuing, hee should be sure to acquire a powerfull, and perpetuall Enemy, that might in time make *Spain* to tremble within her owne bowels; and the *Prophecie* had well neare beene verified, (the whole world knowes it) if a violent death had not interposed to stay him. But this yet, which perhaps was foreseene, they did iudge insufficient to free *Spain* of the danger: Seeing the offence of the father, and with the offence, the disdain, might descend to the Sonne, his Successor, as soone as hee came to ripe age, and should fall into consideration, that the *Catholique* King had done his utmost, to keepe him from being King of *France*, when hee indeauoured to take the Crowne from the head of his father: and that if his father, in despite of *Spain*, mainteined himselfe King, he also in despite of *Spain*, might enioy his fathers Kingdome. But all these considerations, which certainly were very great, before any other conceiued them, were reioled by the most wise King *Phillip*, who by common Iudgement was the *Salomon* of his time; From whence for the same reasons, that others did iudge it requisite to leaue the warre, hee esteemed it necessary to prosecute it. Seeing he knew he had so grievously offended *Henry*, that hee could by no other meanes, secure himselfe from his disdain, but onely by opposing him to become King of *France*: Wherefore seeing the cause of Religion did cease, it was expedient to fasten vpon some other pretence; to resist (with his *Holiness*) the absolution, and in *France*, the Coronation; and to proue, if it were possible (already reason of State had insinuated that great building of the *Adalicious*) to make a King of his owne fashion, as he had already caused to be propounded in *Parliament*.

Bani p. 4. vita
de Clem. 3. C. 30.

Tarde se desengana el desseo de mandar, y ser Rey, Por esso aunque con menos brío, no desistían los pretendores. Propóni el Duque

Duque de Feria al Serenissima Infanta de Espana Dona Isabel. Affermana demerselo el Reyno, porque, haviendo saltado la linea masculina de Hugo Capeto, era quien tenia mejor derecho a la Corona, como hija de hermana mayor de Enrico III ultimo Rey de Francia. Y dexia con esto, que el Rey Catolico su padre, la casaria con al un principe Frances; con que, el nombramiento del tal, quedasse en su elecion.

That is.

The desire to command, and to bee King, was slowly cleared from all doubt: For this cause, though with lesse boldnesse, the Pretenders gaue not ouer. The Duke of Feria did propound her highnesse *Donna Isabella, Infanta of Spaine*. He did affirme the Kingdom to belong vnto her, because the *Masculine Line of Hugh Capet* being extinct, the best title to the Crowne was deuolued to her, as daughter of the eldest sister of *Henry the third, last King of France*; And withall, it was said, that the *Catholique King* her father would marry her to some Prince of *France*; Prouided, the nomination of that Prince might rest in his Election.

Further.

No solamente estava propuesta la Infanta de Espana à la Corona de Francia, si no tambien el Archiduque Ernesto de Austria, hermano de Emperador.

That is.

Not only the *Infanta of Spaine* was proposed to the Crowne of *France*, but the *Arch-Duke Ernestus* also, brother of the Emperour.

The *French Lords* did rest astonished at these so handsome propositions, and grew warie of the danger, wherein the King of *Spaine* had entangled them: whilst hee professed to defend the *Catholique Religion in France*.

Por estas razones, y otras, juntamente con las maquinaciones, y negociaciones, que se descubrian, determinaron en la Asamblea, o Cortes, que el Duque de Viena, como Lugarteniente del Reyno, procurasse impedir los ratos, que y a se descubrian: para que en ninguna manera se eligiesse à la Corona Princepsa, o principe estrange-ro, anulando qualesquier ratos, que hasta este punto hubiesse echo:

echo : y que se guardassen las leyes fundamentales del Reyno, en lo tocante a la elecion de un Rey Christianissimo y Frances.

That is:

For these and other Reasons, together with the Machinations and practices which were discovered, it was determined in their Assembly, that the Duke *du Mayne*, as Lieutenant of the Kingdome, should procure to dissolve the Treaties, that already were vnmasked; because by no means, a *Princesse* or *Prince* Stranger should be elected to the *Crown*, annulling whatsoever Treaty, which to that day had been begunne; and that the fundamentall lawes of the Kingdome, concerning the *Election* of a most *Christian* and *French* King should bee observed.

Now, let your *Majestie* see, from the contexture of the forementioned matters, to what termes the most holy zeale of the King *Don Phillip* your father, was reduced, and how the faire beginnings, for sincere Religion, were peruered, onely into an vndue end, of reason of *State*; For which also, the warre, after the Abolition of *Henry*, did continue, vntill the most blessed *Clement* the Eighth did introduce the *peace*.

I could alledge to your *Majestie* many other examples vpon this Argument: but I esteeme these three, so notable, that they are enough with aduantage.

There may perhaps bee some, who will reprehend me, that I haue onely exemplified in the Kings of *Spain*, where I might doubtlesse haue bene furnished from Princes of other Nations, and will accuse me as a man of little Iudgment, and maners, that speaking with your *Majestie* I haue presumed to mingle my tongue in the Actions, of the neuer enough praised *Don Phillip* the second, your father. I would they should consider, that domestique examples moue much more then forraign; from whence, as noble mindes doe, with all possibilitie, endeavour to immitate the Actions worthy, of their famous *Ancestors*; so, by all means they doe endustriate themselves, to auoid that, which in their Predecessors was iudged worthy of blame; And, seeing that they, though Princes of worth, and eminent vertue, did sometimes

Amable

stumble vpon vnbeseeeming Actes, they do came not to pre-
sume too much vpon themselves, and to bee very watchfull,
not to fall, where others slip; and considering, that being
their Descendants, they should not esteeme themselves better,
but rather worse, then they, seeing in descending, nature doth
loose, as vertue doth encrease by ascending. Wherefore, if
by nature they are *Descendants*, they shall grow worse, and
onely ascending by vertue, they may make them themselves
better. I then, speaking with a *Catholique* King of *Spain*, to
admonish him of a snare, now with so much faire and hidden
Artifice set before him, that easily he might fall therein; how
could I better doe, then to shew him, where his owne Pro-
gnitors, most wife and *Catholique* Princes, haue fallen head-
long into like disorders?

It is necessary (said the great Henry of France) to show the errors of Printers; that they which succeed them, may not erre in the same. *Je ne puis en dire plus.* *Pierre Mathieu en la vie de M^{rs} de M^{rs}.*

**Pierre Mathieu:
en la vie de
Mons: Vill.**

I had then purposely taken these examples of the Kings of Spain; as more helpfull to your Majesty in this present matter, then any other, which might have been produced, and have ever confirmed them with the Authority of Spanish writers, to avoid the blame, either of falshood, or Calumny. And because they may be of greater credit, and more efficacie, in the filders mind of your Majesty.

200 To-whole consideration, I at last come to represent,
That the Rising of the Gentour of *Massachusetts* against the
Masses to the *Masses*, vnder the like pretence, did apparant-
ly tend to the same end, though shadowed, in the *Manifesto*,
much wider of truth, of which I shall now discourse, publi-
shed (as it was voyced) by the people of that Valley, but in
truth by the Ministers of your Maiestie, of whom, if your
Maiestie be not more then heedfull, you shall bee certainly
induced to such Actions, that being added to the other
three *Narrations* of your Ancestors, will serue for an example
to Posteritie, of an impious and wicked Enterprize, vnder a
Religious and godly vail.

Returning to the Discount, I say, that the causes of pub-
H. non-bepol: lifting

lishing that *Manifest*, were *Three*.

The first, to inuade to your Maieſtie and the World, that the People of the *Valachia*, being tyrannised by the *Crisse*, were of their owne free and voluntary determination, and not by others induced, fallen into *Rebellion*.

The second, to perswade your Maieſtie and the World, that your Ministers had iustly vnderaken the protecting of those miserably oppressed, & that it was consonant to the greatnesse and goodnesse of a *Catholique* King, not to abandon those, who refused to his defence. So formerly, *Darius* of *Armenia*, *Non priuile siue ob Siculis indigna formidat, spernens suppliciter suam implacabilem, non auxilio adesset*; you was hee that seduced them into desertion.

Sabell. Entad. 9.
li. 7.

The third, to render the poore *Valachians* by so shameful a writing, so odious to their owne Lords, that they should despair, of euer obtaining pardon; whereby they might rest the more obstinate in their *Rebellion*, and willing in any sort to submit themselves to the Dominion of your Maieſtie, for feare they should returne into the power of the *Crisse*.

The first is clearly exprest in the *Manifest*, which runs all things to the iustificatiō of the rebellion of the *Valachians* the other two, which are extracted from the inuoluntary thoughts of the heart, might appeare Imaginations of my owne fancy, if the matter in ſolde did not approue them. But arguing ſecurely, from the effect to the Cause, true, and not imaginarie Conclusions may be deduced. For this vertiginous, with all my spirit, the auerſe mind of your Maieſtie; for when I shall haue demonstrated, that all the Reasons of the *Manifest* are ill grounded, and false, and what the truth of the businesse is: it shall together appeare, that the Cause of said *Manifest* cannot be other, then those there specified.

The Reasons drawne to excuſe the Rebellion of the *Valachians*, are reduced to two Heads.

Religion and Tyranny.

Vpon these are made great Amplifications, but all confirmed without proofs, A manifest signe, that it is spoken without foundation.

Concerning;

Concerning Religion, it is said, that the *Grifons* lately have taken from the *Valdenses* the libertie of Conscience, and have proceeded, that all should be infected with *Heresy*, shewing in every occasion favour to *Heretics*, and the contrary to *Catholiques*, upon some of whom, they have instituted so cruell and infamous draynages, in hatred of this Religion. I repeat no further particulars; it is sufficient to remark the *Adversities*, to which all other matters are referred, and the *Adversities* may be distinctly read.

Concerning Tyranny, it is now painting out a kind of government of the *Grifons* in the *Kingdom*, like to that, which formerly flourished in *Sicily*, and, to speak more modestly, like to that, praised as it was by the Ministers of your Majesty, as of our Predecessors in their *State of Italy*, as by their discourses you shall fully understand; perhaps with some notable benefit to your people Subjects, who are waiting for some relief from your Royal hand.

But before we discourse particularly in these two points, it is first to consider, That the *Grifons*, though divided into two Religions, *Roman* and *Evangelical* (say) in plain the divine Majesty, that in time they may all agree in the variety of the true *Apollonian* play in all matters in respect of the publique good of the *State*, they have constantly stood united in the politique Government. With which Concord they have so many yeares maintained themselves free Princes, independent of others, and highly esteemed of all; For which cause, we know with how much diligence and charge many great Princes have sought their friendship. But of late yeares, in this party, some Ministers of your Majesty, indignant to see them colleague; now with *France*, now with *Spain*, united with an immoderate zeal of your service, to which they supposed that such Confederations might bring some prejudice, and judging it most important to your Crowns, that you only should have the free passage through the straits of the *Adriatic* into *Greece*, and that to all other Princes, they should pay no pleasure, but that they your continuing indolence, and taking our absence, to

divide the *Grisons*, as well in the politique government, as in Religion; to the end they might easily slide into vices.

To this effect, the late count de *Fuente*, Governor of *Milan* erected that Fort, which to this day beares his name, so preiudiciall, as nothing more, to the State of the *Grisons*. Having first with money corrupted some of the chiefe of that Countrey, to the end, that if the *Barb* would assault themselves, they should with various Arts be disturbed; as came right to passe by the labor of *Lo: Baptista Estuoffi*, *Panaprio*, & *Rodolfo Planta*, *Nicholo Rusea*, and others, noted in the Manifest of the *Grisons*, of the year 1618. Instantly after which, *Don Pedro de Toledo*, Governor of *Milan*, in the year 1617. did attempt to make a perpetuall league with the *Grisons*, vpon Articles molded by the Lord *Alfonso Cigales*, Ambassadors of your Majestic in that *Republique*; after his own fashion; in which there was nothing infered in the fauour of the *Grisons*, but a delusory promise to demolish the fort of *Fuente*, wherewith, it seemed to him, that they should condescend to all other things, how contrary soeuer to their liberties. The same men, who did fauour the building of the Fort, did not faile to aduance also this Confederacie, persuading many, that by al meanes it ought to be embraced; but the crooked practises of these Patriots, Enemies of their Countrey, being to the *Grisons* discovered, they would not accept these *Capitulations*; but forming a luridicary, and Capitall Proceſſe, against these *Rebels*, they found so many *Malchinations*, treasons, and other wicked Actions by them wrought, that proceeding to Iustice, it was requisite, with Banishments, and death, to giue them deserved punishment. From that time, till now, that they remained exiled, aided with money by the Ministers of your Majestic, with which they proceeded, mainrayning fresh practises with their friends and adherents, and corrupting many others; they haue solicited continually to sowe dissension among this people, thereby to raise some insurrection; as finally hath succeeded in the *Valaisine*. The truth of all this is clearly collected from the forecalleaged Manifest, of the Actions of the

the *Grisons*, in the year 1618, to which *Credicimus* be de-
nied as the Ministers of your Majesty desire, seeing the things
therein related are matters of fact; and judicially approved,
where these affaires have been handled with impartiality, or
respect of persons; as every dispassionate mind, by the reading
thereof will iudge.

The intent then of your Majesties Ministers was not, to estab-
lish a Confederacy with the *Grisons*, which had to bin so, they
would have procured by lawfull wayes; & upon Conditions
reasonable, as other Princes wold: and not by suggestion of
particular persons, corrupted with gifts, and upon Articles, so
winnowy, as among them are scattered. But their purpose was,
scurtainingly to frame them, that they should not be seduced,
because, being pronounced by the factional party of men
corrupted, and misled by the fowle party, disinterested; and
lovers of the publique good, there might arise a discorde
sowed by this art, to cast these people into Confusion, so
that from their division, according to the Gospel, the diso-
lution of the *State*, might follow. For the Ministers of your
Majestie, fomenting one party against the other, did hope to
oppress both the one and the other; and highly to enrich of
you by enlarging, in what way soever, your Empire, would

This Artifice, (O Sacred Catholique Religion) is detested sub-
jects from their Princes, to send them into destruction, is
most proper, and practised by the Ministers of your Majesty,
and who would here recount, how often, and in what man-
ner, they have plotted division in the Kingdom of France;
should weave a large Historie. The French Lords doe well
know it, and it is a common opinion amongst them, who best
understand the Affaires of *State*; that if all the *Hugonots* of
France, should be reduced to the Catholique Religion, the
Spanish Ministers would therewith be grievously displeased;
seeing that of them they make principall use, as of most deare
friends, to embroile that Kingdom, whenever they have
any doubts, that the French may move his force to the
damage of Spain. And they doe glory, not so feare at
all, the Armes of his most Christian Majestie, not because

these are invalid, but that they know the way to keep them
 bound, at their pleasure, in his owne house. Which three
 for being well considered, might produce a contrary effect.
 For, if the most Christian King shall once resolve himself
 to carry the warre abroad, his shall not meet success in dou-
 bt, within his owne Kingdome. The gods and vices
 of the French Noblesse, done to Arden and his
 complices, cannot be lasting in Idleness; While they shall
 not elsewhere be exercised, it is no wonder that at home
 they may be easily excited to tumults. But if he shall be
 imployed in foreign Actions, they will runne greedily
 vnderstand glory, of which they are most ambitious. And
 will desire like wisdom, that their owne Country should
 robbin peace, be the more able with their Swords to sub-
 due others: nor will they suffer themselves to be disturbed
 by the treacherous machinations of them, who collect their
 ruine, and ruin others.

But this is spoken by the way, by occasion of the like
 stratagem at present used among the *Grisius*, the which
 ing is hath begun to take effect in the *Protestants*; the Go-
 vernour of *Adrian* is kept into the field not with intent to
 fauour, but to oppress the party risen; yet to give another
 religion Proposing still this artifice of *Macchiavel*, that feined
 Religion doth much advantage the Actions of Princes; he
 would make the world believe, that he was moved with pi-
 ties to take the protection of the miserable *Udians*; oppres-
 sed (as saith the *Masses*) in Religion and politike life.
 Of which two things, it is now requisite distinctly to
 treat.

The *Grisius* does pretend, that if God which hee errand
 man, lose him in the state of free will, the Conscience ought
 to be free, no man being able to take away that, which is the
 gift of the Divine Majesty. They estimate their Condition
 to be most wretched and miserable, who are violently forced
 to profess to believe that, which their Conscience truly
 doth not believe: and therefore they require liberty of
 Religion. They are divided into *Romans* and *Calvinists*,
 every

every one followes his part, so which his Conscience con-
 cerneth him. Every one doth believe his believes well,
 and sinnes more or less when he doth transgress from that an-
 cient Institution, wherein he was borne and bred: Violence
 is done to no man. In the publike Government, as well
 the one, as the other, doe participate without any Di-
 stinction.

Now the Ministers of your Majesty say, (as may be read in
 the Manifest) that the Professors of the *Roman* Religion
 have no more libertie to follow their true faith, because the
 contrary faction doth tyrannically oppress them. And how
 they allege many violent Actions, which if in case some are
 true, certainly they are not happened, but for glorious Inju-
 ries and offences first done by the *Romans* to the *Engeli-
 shes*: but the truth is, that the most part of them are false, &
 the effect to this day, hath showed to be most false, that e-
 ver the *Engeliques* did attempt to oppress the *Romans*.
 Upon which for severall Illustrations, we will with reason dis-
 course a little in the favour of truth.

These two factions, *Roman* and *Engelique*, either
 are equal, or the one is superior to the other. If they
 are equal, & every one doe perswade in his own opinion, it
 being certaine that in their *Duties* (called by some *Divine*),
 the Ministers of the one, and the other, equally are sufficient;
 of necessity it must bee said, that when any thing is handled,
 which doth preiudice the one, or the other, there can never
 be any agreement. But seeing they doe accord and appeare
 by the *Duties of Titus*, in the years 1448. with him to many
Rebells, as well *Roman*, as *Engeliques*, without all respect
 were punished. Then it must be concluded, not so hee saies,
 that they practise one to preiudice the other. Then it is false,
 that the *Engeliques* doe oppress the *Romans*. But who
 shall say that the one is too strong, and doth persecute the
 other? How is it, that in so many, and so many years, that
 part hath not usurped the absolute dominion? If the *Ro-
 man* preiudice, how doe they consent, that their *Clergie*
 men should bee chastised, and at your Majesties Ministers
 affirme

affair, in despite of Religion? If the *Evangelists* be *heresies*, how can it stand, that purging to death the *Arch-Priest* of *Soudan*, and exiling the *Bishop* of *Con* for being of the *Roman Religion*, afterward they admitted another *Bishop*, and another *Arch-Priest* of the same *Religion*? And why did they condemn only those two, and not many other good and truly religious men, of which in that *State* there are multitudes? Let it bee then said, were not *Evangelists* the *Romanists* doe persecute the *Romanists*.

And if the aforesaid *Clergie-men* have suffered, the *culpables* by them condemned, *as mentioned* *hereticks*, did cast that with *Conscience* consent, as all of the *Christians* *Worshippers*, as of the *Evangelists*, they have beene punished: it is notorious by the aforesaid writing of the year 1618. And that it was not done in the hatred of *Religion*, may more clearly from this be discerned, that among the accused and condemned there were many more *Evangelists* then *Romans*. Whence it is evident, that with integrity, and without any respect, those of the *Evangelical* *Religion* have openly named, nor sparing themselves, in the administration of *Justice*. And *Religious* *Plains*, that their banishment, as it knowne to all men, was not only an *injustice*, but a principall head of the *Heresies*.

With two things about this Subject the World is greatly amazed and scandalized. The one, that the Ministers of your Majestie in the *Assembly* printed by them for the *12* *years*, have dared to give the title of a true *Martyr* of *Christ*, to the *Arch-priest* of *Soudan*, a man blood-thirsty, and a Traitor to his Prince; whence it appeares, that only for being their fauourers, he obtained the merit, to be Canonized for *Saint*. The other is, that they have alwayes held so strict Incongruence with *Religious* *Plains*, and other principall *Heresies*, and have fauoured, and stipendiated them, both before and after their Banishment, and have made use, and yet doe use them continually in matters very inconsistent. Neither doe they make at all scruple of Conscience thereof, though they publicly proclaim them their *Pro-*

rectors of the Religion, and perpetuall Enemies of all *Heretiques*; If the wonder and Scandall bee iust, I remit it to the Righteous Iudgement, and prudent mind of your Maiestie.

I expect, that conuicted with the force of these reasons, some should step forth, and say; That when notwithstanding the *Euangeliques* doe not letke to oppresse the *Romanists*, and doe suffer euery one to liue to himselfe, yet by all meanes it is requisite to extirpate the ill race of *Heretiques*, Enemies to *holy Church*. I vnwillingly enter into this particular, but of force the matter requires that somewhat therein bee spoken. I doe belecue, and I thinke am not deceiued, that to punish *Heretiques*, the Ecclesiasticall, authoritie is necessary: How then will the Ministers of your Maiestie intermeddle in that, which to them appertaines not? And who will not say, that greedineſſe to vsurpe the State of other, doth moue them also to vsurp the *Pontificall Iurisdiction*? O God if yet they did vse it well! Holy Church doth continually pray for the extirpation of heresie; not so of *Heretiques*; But those Ministers, with too much excelsse of holy zeale, will first vsurp the *Eſtates* of *Heretiques*, and destroy their persons, throughly to roote out their heresies.

Quid auiunt, ut ſultitiam ſuam dum minuire volunt, augent? longe diuerſa ſunt carniſicina, & pietas; nec poſſe, aut veritas cum vi, aut Iuſtitia cum credulitate coniungi. Laſt. iij. Diu. li. 5 C. 20.

Here a Conſideration comes into my head, which makes me aſtoniſhed. The *Euangeliques* among the *Griſons* (ſo your Miniſters affirme, and I belecue it) are the ſuperiour party. Theſe, as wee ſay are *impious*, *wicked*, and our *Capitall Enemies*, they deſire our harme, and our vtter ruine. They might perhaps, haue beene able, with little difficultie, with their owne force, and with the ayde, of thoſe of *Zurich*, and *Berne*, obliged to them, by loue, by law, and particular Conſederation, vtterly to ruine, deſtroy, and annihilate the *Roman faction*, in their Countrey, and to become *Lords* alone of the whole Dominion: And yet theſe *wicked*, theſe *impious*, theſe *Enemies* of the true faith, haue had ſo much humanitie,

I

that

that they haue abstayned; and haue beens contented, that the *Roman Catholiques* liue freely and quietly among them, and to haue them friends and Companions in the politique Government. And those of *Zurich* and *Berne*, no whit better then the *Euangelique Grisons*, haue neuer promoued, nor counselled them to Alterations; On the contrary, the true Sonnes of the holy *Roman Church*, instructed in the meeknesse, patience, and benignity of *Christ*, Men charitable, pious, and holy, doe make it lawfull to rise against those, who molest them not; to rebell from those, who admit them into fellowship of Government; to procure the losse of *State* to those who being able, haue neuer attempted to expell them out of the *State*. And the Ministers of your Maieftie who professe to bee the most true *Catholiques* this day liuing in the *World*, are they, who instigate, foment, and ayd, yea who principally doe opperate, in these so honest *Rebellions*: and with warre, fire, and ruines, doe pronounce, that it is requisite to defend the holy *Religion*.

Laflant. ubi supra.

O quam honesta voluntate miseri errant, sentiunt enim nihil esse in rebus humanis Religione praestantius, eamque summa vi optere defendi; sed in defensionis genere falluntur. Defendenda enim Religio est, non occidendo, sed moriendo, non sauitia, sed patientia, non scelare sed fide; Illa enim malorum sunt, haec bonorum: & necesse est, bonum in Religione versari, non malum; Nam si sanguine, si tormentis, si malo, Religionem defendere velis, iam non defendetur illa, sed polluetur, atque violabitur. Nihil est enim tam voluntarium, quam Religio; in qua si animus Sacrificantis auersus est, iam sublata, iam nulla est.

Salust. de con. Catil. li. 1.

The *Politicians* say, that, *Imperium his artibus retinetur, quibus initio paratum est*. So is it consequent to say of our *Religion*; the which was planted, not by killing, but dying, not with cruelty, but patience, nor in wickednesse, but faith. With these *Arts Christ* laid the foundation, with these the *Apostles* and those holy fathers of the *Primitive Church* did build upon it, and since their Successors from these wayes haue declined, it is diminished, restrayned, and in many places vserly extinct: *Religion* is more free then the will of man,

man, because the forced will, remaines still a will, but enforced Religion, is no more Religion; for in the will, the Act is regarded, and in Religion the minde: And therefore, If the mind of the sacrificer be averse, the efficacie is taken away, and annihilated.

Then the Ministers of your Maiestie doe erre in these their cruell proceedings against *Heretiques*: They too farre wander from the path in which *Christ* hath guided them: Let your Maiestie bee advised, not to suffer your selfe to bee drawn into the same error, by giuing them faculty, & power, to prosecute so bloody Enterprises. Command them by your *Royall* authority, to leaue so preposterously to fauour *Christian Religion*: For now the world doth know their ends, and *Christ* himselfe doth hate, detest, and abhorre them: And when they shall endeavour to perswade you otherwise, bee not easie to giue them credit, seeing (as I haue already shewed) vnder holy pretences, they doe counsell Deuillish actions. Let your Maiestie giuefull credence to their Aduices, when they shall perswade you to imploy your forces against the *Mahometans*, Capitall and continuall Enemies of *Christianitie*: when they shall say, that therein you ought to spend those many Millions which you draw from the Church for that holy end, when they shall excite you to dresse your Fleets and Armies to recouer so many Prouinces vsurped by *Infidells* vpon miserable *Christians*. But why doe I say recouer them? I tremble (O Sacred Maiestie) to speake it, but it may not be passed in silence. I feare that they rather will counsell you to take from the *Christians*, *Arzila* in *Affrica* enforceth me to speake, wrested from the possession of the *Portugalls*, by the King *Don Phillip* the second, and giuen to *Muley Achmet*, King of *Marocco*. I well know what they will answer, that he gaue it because he could not defend it. But if a King of *Portugall* did keepe it, how can it be, that a Monarch of *Spaine*, of the new World, and of so many other Kingdomes and Prouinces should be vnable? No, no, wee are not deceived: how matters did then passe with the *Portugalls* doth too clearly shew the truth, *Phillip* did feare that

Muley might succour *Don Antonio*, who did claime the Kingdome of *Portugall*, wherefore to extinguish that *Christian* King, the Ministers did perswade King *Phillip*, with the price of that Citie, to buy the friendship of that *Infidel*: Consider now your Maiestie this perfidious Counsell; the which drew King *Phillip* into so euill considerations, (though otherwise an excellent Prince) that hee became publicly reproached; and it was said, that he had learned this liberalitie of *Barbarians* of the most famous *Emperour* his father, *Charles* the fift: who after the Conquest of the Citie of *Tunis* in *Barbarie*, did presently render it to the King *Muleasses*, which he would not haue done, if it had bin taken from any *Christian* Prince; As he refused to restore *Castelano* to the *Republic* of *Venice*, recovered from the *Turkes*, at the instance of that *Common-wealth*, and with the ayde of their owne *Armado*, although by particular conuention thereunto obliged, Then againe I say, let your Maiestie take heed of the false Counsels of your *Spanish* Ministers; who, where reason of State is in question, would haue Princes viterly deprived of Conscience.

Gios. Hist. li. 34.

*Ighes. vita de
Paolo. 3 lib. 6. C.
27 sect. 1.*

*Gios. li. 37. Iglies.
nel Capit. preditto. sect. 9.*

*Ele. Boletas
detti memorabili.
li. 1.*

Antonio de Lena discoursing, by occasion, with *Charles* the fift *Emperour*, concerning the Affaires of *Italy*, did perswade him to put to death this, and that Prince, and to take possession of their *States*, and to make himselfe Lord of all. The *Soule*? answered the *Emperour*; What? replied *Lena*, hath your Maiestie a soule? then renounce your *Empire*.

This was truly too shamelesse an Impietie of *Lena*: such, I am sure as none of your Ministers would dare to propound to your Maiestie; for knowing the great goodnesse of your most *Catholique* minde, they should be sure to incurre your Roiall Indignation. But it doth not therefore follow, that they preserve not in their heads the same rules, and that they doe not thereby gouerne all their Actions, and thereunto conformable, addresse all their Counsells, the which are so much more dangerous, in as much as they cover them vnder holy pretences, as at present in the warre against the *Grismu*. Wherefore your Maiestie hath so much more cause to feare,
and

and to take heed, and so much more reason to accept in good part this Aduertisement.

But to returne to our Matter; Let your Maiestie consider that to punish *Heretiques* (as already I haue said) is not the office of a secular Prince; And therefore your Ministers doe ill to put their Sickle into anothers harvest, and so much the worse because they know it. And to deceive the world, they make it lawfull without the *Pontificall* authority, to aduance he standard of the high Priest, to iustifie a warre which they know to be vniust; Wherefore his *Holinesse*, whose Iurisdiction is directly offended, ought not, and cannot beare it. And if hee haue, and doe suffer many other things, in the end a long abused patience is conuerted into a iust anger. Besides, let your Maiestie be aduised, that all *Heretiques* are not to be treated as *Rebells*, with extreame rigour, but onely those, who borne within the wombe of the Church, by their owne malice haue revolted; these which are borne, nourished and brought vp in the Sect of their Parents, it is true, they erre, but vnder an excuse of well doing; they erre it is true, but they knowe not their errour: they are more worthie of Compassion then of penalty, they deserue helpe, and not punishment.

Multum enim interest inter illos qui in ignorantia sunt, & in ignorantia perierunt; & inter eos, qui in veritate quidem nati sunt, propter aliquod autem mundiale, scientes, ad mendacia transierunt, & perierunt in eis, & pereunt. Illi enim forsitan aliquo modo habebunt remissionem, isti autem nullam remissionem habebunt. neque in hoc seculo, neque in futuro; quoniam ipsi sunt qui blasphemauerunt in Spiritum Sanctum; Illi enim indicandi sunt, quia veritatem non quaesierunt, isti autem condemnandi, quia spreuerunt. Lenior enim culpa est, veritatem non apprehendere, quam contemnere apprehensam. Chrysost. 1. Math. Homil. 49

Let Preachers then be sent to instruct them; let gentle meanes be vsed, that they may hearken vnto them; Let prayers be continually made for them, and after leaue the care to God, to illuminate them, in the holy faith; seeing that faith is the onely giift of God, which he freely giues, not giuen by

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Ighes. vita de Paolo. 3 lib. 6. c. 27. sect. 1.

Gion. li. 37. Ighes. nel Capit. preditto. sect. 9.

Cic. Boletas ditti memorabili. l. 1.

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Mars, nor by the meanes of warre.

Cant. 6. 1.

God did command that the Foxes; which destroyed the Vines should be taken, not flaine; *Capite nobis Vulpes parvulas quæ demolimur Vinas.*

S. Bernard tom.
1. In Cant. ser.
46.

Et si iuxta allegoriam, Ecclesias, Vinas; Vulpes, Hereses, seu potius Hereticos ipsos intelligimus, simplex est sensus; ut Heretici capiantur potius quam effugentur; capiantur disco, non armis, sed arguendis, quibus ressellantur eorum errores: Ipsi vero, si fieri potest, Ecclesia Catholica reconcilientur, reuocentur ad veram fidem; hæc est enim voluntas eius, qui vult omnes homines saluos fieri. & ad agnitionem veritatis pervenire: And a little after, Quod si reuerti nolueris; nec conuictus post primam iam, & secundam admonitionem (vixit qui omnino subuersus est) eris secundum Apostolum denudandus.

This is the way (*ô Sacred Maiestie*) to proceed against *Heretiques*, which this holy man doth teach, and not that by the rigor of Armes which your Ministers practice. Beleeue it a truth, that to vse crueltie against *Heretiques*, doth euer make them more peruerse; And if this in no place should be done, much lesse there where *Heretiques* and *Catholiques* are together mingled, with libertie of Religion; because our persecutiõ of them for Religion, doth teach them to do the like, as well for preservation of their own, which they esteeme as good as we doe ours, as for the securitie of their *States & liues*. From which so many losses haue hapned to the Church of God, that it is a consideration worthy of many teares. *Poore Germany*, into what state is it reduced by this occasion? which perhaps (but why do I say perhaps) certainly, certainly, had bin in much better estate, if therewith, other proceedings had been vsed. I call not *England* to witnesse, the storie is too notorious. What hath ruined *Flanders* but a will to introduce with too much rigor, the *Spanish Inquisition*? And the Citie of *Naples*, for the same cause hath it not fallen into generall tumult? which, if it had further proceeded, to day, by Gods grace, it remains *Catholique*, that perhaps we had found, with all that noble Kingdome, full of heresie. May it please the *Divine Maiestie* that the present

sent warre against the *Grifons* proue not a fire of faith and Religion, in all *Italy*. The Deuill hath prepared the wood, the Ministers of your Maiestie haue kindled the flame. If presently there be not some ready to extinguish it, this paper (God make me a liar) which some will esteem foolishnes, & others call malignitie, will perhaps be found a Prophesie from heauen. But of this enough hath beene said; let vs proceed to the rest.

The second head of *Tyranny* doth follow: Great matters are related in the *Manifest*, printed in the name of the *Valloisians*. But seeing there is not one particular case objected, nor any thing proved, it might be said the whole is false; but wee will not vse that aduantage, because wee know many things are most true.

Lucio di Monte, with the money of forraigne Princes supplied him by *Pompeio Planta*, to the summe of two thousand *florens* distributed among particulars, did procure the office of supreme *Provinciall Iudge* of the *Grifon League*, binding himselfe to administer that charge; not according to right and Justice, and the libertie of his Country, but conformable to the will of the said *Planta*. Whence it is confirmed for truth, that the Government was conferred vpon him, who did offer the greatest price; that from thence a thousand *Tyrannies* did proceed against the goods and liues of the Subiects, there is no cause to doubt: seeing this is the way to riches, and he that buyes an office, pretends to haue right to sell it, in selling Justice; as it was once said of that good *Spanish Pope*, who by force of money ascended to the Chaire, did dispence for monyes all Rights of the Church.

Emerat ille prius, vnderre iure possit.

Here I could open the eies of your Maiesty with a like abuse in your own Court, and tell you, that the *Alguaciles*, or as we call them *Marshals*, or Captaines of *Sericants*, pay for that charge five or six thousand *Ducats*; the *Escriuano*s, or Notaries of *Magistrates*, pay, some righteene, some twenty thousand

land Crownes; *los Alcaldes*, or speaking in our owne Idoms, the Criminall or Ciuill Iudges doe not pay a certaine summe, but they neuer climbe to that degree without bestowing large donations vpon the Fauorits of your Maiestie. What may then be said of Gouvernours, and *Vice-Kings*, which you send into remote Prouinces? All the Court doth know, and the Prouinces are not ignorant, that no man, *gratis*, doth obtaine these honours, but they all passe in the Common way. Your Maiestie may well beleue, that your Ministers are not so zealous of the *weale publique*, profusely to expend their owne, to goe and wearie themselues, to gouerne others, though in the most eminent dignitie. Whence you may firmly collect, that they propose to disburse at interest, and so provide that the poore Subiects pay them an annuall Tribute, not of five, tenne, or twenty, but of a hundred for a hundred, and sometimes a thousand; and that at the end of their Gouvernment, they doe leuell the *Capital*. I could read in *Casbedra* vpon this matter, as that which I haue seene with mine owne eyes, and whercof in part to my great losse, haue had experience. But being a publique thing, it behooues not that I wearie my selfe therein. I returne then to the *Tyranny* of the *Grisous*.

Pompeio Planta aboue mentioned, did vsurpe the power of Magistracie in the *Præfecture* of *Forstenau*: binding all the officers not to intermeddle in any Cause of Importance without his knowledge, or of *Redolpho Planta*, his Brother.

This man, who was *Provinciall* Captain of the *Vahellus* & Criminall Iudge of *Zernez*, & of the bordering Communities, did vsurp the power of Magistracy of the three *Leagues*, exercising therein most great *Tyranny* in generall, and against particular men, and did arrogate to himselfe, to iudge the lawes, and to choosethem onely Iudges, who to him were pleasing, and whosoever would not concurre with him, was sodainly deprived; In which course, attempting to doe violence in the vpper *Aguadina* hee was the cause, that six persons did loose their liues.

He did falsifie the *Statutes* and ordinances of the Countrey

ney in his Iurisdiction, adding and diminishing them, as to him it turned best to accompt.

He did binde the Subiects in many Communities and free Prouinces with various corruptions and presents to elect into many offices, men vpon him dependant. Of which his followers, he after made vse to breake the lawes, to excite Commotions against honest men, and to gouerne all with violent *Tyranny* at his owne disposition.

Vpon delicts of little consideration, hee gaue most rigorous sentences, Conuerting them after into great Ransoms, to whosoever would redeeme his vestrations.

When he had punished some *Delinquents*, he found occasion to entangle many Innocents, saying, that the guilty had accused them of *Confederacy*, or some what else, and enforced them, if they would auoide his persecution, to compound with him in great summes of money.

In *Agnadina* he did sharpen the quarrells and factions, euen amongst Kindred, sowing them with men and Armes, whereof followed many wounds and many deaths. What anguish it particularly recoount the *Tyranny* inflicted for many years, by him and his Brother in *Agnadina*, *Vakeline*, and other places: And who is able to search the truth of infinite others, practised by their adherents and followers? In summe *Pampira*, and *Edesse* have bene Tyrants themselves, and Heads of Tyranny from thence, and by them, all those Cruelties of the people, which in the *Masses* written in the name of the *Vakelines* are exaggerated, haue proceeded: without contradiction they are too true, we doe not deny them.

But let it auaile to speake the *Truth*, and who, by your fauour, are these but factious men, and Dependents vpon the Ministers of your Maiestie? From whom haue they receiued the monies to support their *Tyrannicall* Authority, but of the Ministers of your Maiestie? who haue constantly comforted them in their wicked Actions, but the Ministers of your Maiestie? Then it must necessarily be concluded that the Ministers of your Maiestie are they who haue feared Ty-

and Crownes; *los Alcaldes*, or speaking in our owne Idioms, the Criminall or Ciuill Iudges doe not pay a certain summe, but they neuer climbe to that degree without bestowing large donations vpon the Fauorits of your Maiestie. What may then be said of Gouvernours, and *Vice-Kings*, which you send into remote Prouinces? All the Court doth know, and the Prouinces are not ignorant, that no man, *gratis*, doth obtaine these honours, but they all passe in the Common way. Your Maiestie may well beleue, that your Ministers are not so zealous of the *weale publique*, profusely to expend their owne, to goe and wearie themselues, to gouerne others, though in the most eminent dignitie. Whence you may firmly collect, that they propose to disburse at Interest, and so prouide that the poore Subiects pay them an annuall Tribute, not of five, tenne, or twenty, but of a hundred for a hundred, and sometimes a thousand; and that at the end of their Gouvernment, they doe leuell the *Capital*. I could read in *Casbedra* vpon this matter, as that which I haue seene with mine owne eyes, and whereof in part to my great losse, haue had experience. But being a publique thing, it behoues not that I wearie my selfe therein. I returne then to the *Tyranny* of the *Grifons*.

Pompeio Planta aboute mentioned, did vsurpe the power of Magistracie in the *Prefecture of Forsteman*: binding all the officers not to intermeddle in any Cause of Importance without his knowledge, or of *Redolphe Planta*, his Brother.

This man, who was *Prouinciell* *Captaine* of the *Vaballus* & Criminall Iudg of *Zerne*, & of the bordering Communities, did vsurp the power of Magistracy of the three *Leagues*, exercising therein most great *Tyranny* in generall, and against particular men, and did arrogate to himselfe, to iudge the lawes, and to choose them onely Iudges, who to him were pleasing, and whosoever would not concurre with him, was sodainly deprived; In which course, attempting to doe violence in the vpper *Aguadina* hee was the cause, that six persons did loose their liues.

Hee did falsifie the *Statutes* and ordinances of the Countrey

ney in his Jurisdiction, adding and diminishing them, as to him it turned best to accompt.

He did binde the Subjects in many Communities and free Prouinces with various corruptions and presents to elect into many offices, men vpon him dependant. Of which his followers, he after made vse to breake the lawes, to excite Commotions against honest men, and to gouerne all with violent *Tyranny* at his owne disposition.

Vpon delicts of little consideration, hee gaue most rigorous sentences, Conuicting them after into great Ransoms, to whosoever would redreeme his veneration.

When he had punished some *Delinquents*, he found occasion to entangle many Innocents, saying, that the guilty had accused them of *Confederacy*, or some what else, and enforced them, if they would auoid his persecution, to compound with him in great summes of money.

In *Agnadina* he did sharpen the quarrells and factions, open amongst Kindred, sowing them with men and Armes, whereof followed many wounds and many deaths. What might it particularly to recount the *Tyranny* inflicted for many yeares by him and his Brother in *Agnadina*, *Kabuline*, and other places: And who is able to search the truth of infinite others, practised by their adherents and followers? In summe *Rampes*, and *Rediffe* have bene *Tyrants* themselves, and Heads of *Tyranny* from whom, and by them, all those Cruelties of the people, which in the *Admonition* written in the name of the *Kabulines* are exaggerated, haue proceeded: without contradiction they are too true, we doe not deny them.

But let it auaile to speake the Truth, and who by your fauour, are these but factious men, and Dependents vpon the Ministers of your Maiestie? From whom haue they receiued the monies to support their *Tyrannical* Authority, but of the Ministers of your Maiestie? who haue constantly comforted them in their wicked Actions, for the Ministers of your Maiestie? Then it must necessarily be concluded that the Ministers of your Maiestie are they who haue feared Ty-

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IRREGULAR P

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namely in the *Kalishine*, and in other parts of the *Grisons*, following the same designe aboue mentioned, to breed *Confusion*, *Disunion*, and small destruction of whole People, to the enlargement of the *States* of your Maiestie; and all these workings haue beene carried in a manner so artificiall, that though the *Grisons* did see many things ill done, they could not apply a remedie, because they knew not from whence the euill did arise. So great was the *Tyrants* power, that there was none found who once durst witness a truth. But as last when it pleased God to bring it to light, the *Grisons* did not neglect to vse all diligence to dig vpon the euill by the Roote. The Brethren *Plamers*, fled, *Confessions* of their owne Iniquities, whereby not being able to apprehend them, they were punished in such sort as was possible, by most sharpe exile. Look vpon the writing so often alleged, of the *Acts* of the *Grisons*, where more distinctly every particular may be read.

But for a demonstrative prooffe of the afore said matters, all the world doth know, how these Brethren *Plamers*, and their banishment, were alwaies favoured and sustained by the Ministers of your Maiestie; how at their instigation, and with their helpe, they wrought the infection of the *Val d'Aoste*, and how, as yet, they negotiate workings.

Here are three things, he to be desired your Maiestie, to be aware of, the *Dumpe*, which is obscured by your Ministers.

The other, the *Approach* which they bring to your Royal name by insidious Complots, which they alway extend to other Potentates.

The last, is the *Importunee* wherewith they seek to worke to wound the name and reputation of good Princes, against whom they haue often provoked the Predecessors of your Maiestie, and sometime your selfe, and still doe attempt earnestly to induce you to actions little reasonable, making you believe, not that they are only bad, but holy.

Vpon this first section I haue made case of discourse, seeing from the fore alleged matters it is evidently collected, that

the

the *Grisons* doe not, nor haue not tyrannised their Subjects, neither concerning Religion, nor in the politike life.

That all the *Tyranny* which was vsed in their State, was treacherously induced by the Ministers of your Maiestie, and that the Rebellion of the *Valtellines* was not free and voluntary in them, but practised, procured, and in a manner enforced by those wicked Arts, I haue fully demonstrated. If then your Ministers, to promote your pious and religious minde, to embrace the protection of the *Valtellines*, and to deprive the *Grisons* of their Dominions, would make you otherwise beleue, who knowes not the fraud? who sees not the deceipt? It is superfluous to enlarge, because it is too manifest.

I come to the second. It is certaine that the actions of Ministers are attributed to their Princes, and with reason, seeing it is supposed that they daue not, cannot, as they ought not, to doe any thing which is not to them either committed, or permitted; especially to contriue any great practice, either secret, or open against other Princes. If then a *Viceroy* of *Naples* hath once surpris'd some Castles of the *Pope*, which after with difficultie were restored: If another did rob the *Merchant Gallies* of *Venice*, which yet they haue not restored; If a *Gouernour* of *Milan* did once attempt to take *Casall of Monferat*, a Citie of the *Duke of Mantua* by treason, and the Castle of *Briffe* from the *State* of *Venice*; If another did leape out to ransack the land of *Crema*; Another did procure to betray the Citie of *Crema* subiect to the *Senate*: If one of your Ambassadors, with intelligence of the *Viceroy* of *Naples*, and the *Gouernour* of *Milan*, did machinise a most detestable conspiracie against the Citie of *Venice* it selfe: If now the present *Gouernour* of *Milan* hath caused the *Valtellines* to rebell from the *Grisons*: And if all these things haue bene done, with the Armes, the men, and the money of your Maiestie, and in times that you haue professed to bee a good friend both to the *Grisons*, *Venetians*, *Duke of Mantua*, and the *Pope*, the world cannot imagine other, but that your Maiestie hath given these orders

ders. From whence it is publikely spoken, that the King of *Spain* doth attend to nothing else, but to raise *Rebellions*, to contriue *Conspiracies*, to sollicite *treasons*, to ransack, rob, & assassinate his friends. Thus by the meanes of his Ministers, his *Royall* name, without any his owne fault, is stayned with Infamy. I call God to witnesse, that I thus speake, because I so certainly beleue of your Maiestie, who deriuig your birth from the most noble *German* Nation, which by nature is free, single, and of a minde farre estranged from frauds, deceits, and treasons, and are descended from the most famous house of *Austria*, which hath still produced Princes magnanimous, adorned with high valour, and true vertue: It is incredible that you should euer encline the greatnesse of your minde to Actions so vnworthy. But all men are not able to distinguish of Nations, nor to know the qualities of Princes, whence the greatest part, hearing the name of a King of *Spain*, doe beleene, that it is spoken of a *Spanish* King, and doe iudge that he also is such, or rather worse, then are his Ministers. This is an ordinarie forme of Argument. Thus spake the *Indians*, when those first Conquerours entered among them.

Vescano de Chiappa li. de destrucc. della Indias.

Diziendoles, que se subiectassen à ellos, hombres tan humanos, inuiustos, y crueles en nombre del Rey de España, incognito, y nunca jamas dellos oydo, estimaban, ser muy mas inuiusto, y cruel, que ellos.

That is.

Saying, if they should be subiected to them, men so humane, vniust and cruell, in the name of a King of *Spain*, to them vnkowne, of whom they had never heard: they did iudge, that he was much more vniust and cruell then they.

Vesc. de Chiap. lib. pr. 33

The same Argument they made against *Iesus Christ*, our God; because finding the *Spaniards*, who called themselves *Christians*, to vse Injustice, and horrible *Tyranny*, they did draw a consequence, that the God of the *Christians* (as was formerly said) was the most cruell, and the most vniust of all other Gods. Let not your Maiestie then wonder that your Royall name is, without your fault, but not without cause, reproached:

preached: neither be troubled, or displeased against thē, who haue reason much too great, and to the world too too apparent, to blaspheme it. But be griued and angry at your own Ministers, who by their euill demeanour giue subiect to all, to scandalize and abhor it. And in as much as your Maiestie liues ialous of your reputation, bee pleased graciously to receiue this Aduertisement, which you will know to be most important, and may bee vnto you not a little auaylable.

I passe to the third: It is a thing almost ordinary with them who practise euill, vnder the shew of goodnesse to make the world beleue, that others also, when they doe good, worke iniquitie. For the Actions of the one and the other, being in themselves contrary, those of wicked men cannot be approued for good, vnlesse those of good men be condemned for wicked; whence, vpon their reproach, they pretend to build their owne glory.

The Ministers of your Maiestie blame the *Grisons* for punishing the Brothers *Platts*, and other *Rebels*, and calls this chastisement, *Tyranny*: because they would haue it said, that they hauing still fauoured and supported them, had done a iust and compassionate action; which certainly the graue *Pope* would not haue approued, who wisely said,

Benefacta male locata, malefacta arbitrur.

Ennius.

Rather to speake truth, this is the height of iniquitie. *Totius enim iniustitia nulla capitalior est, quam eorum, qui cum cicer. off. li. 1. maxime fallunt, id tamen agunt, ut viri boni esse videantur.* Among Tyrants, to punish the good, and reward the wicked, are acts of iustice and pietie: as contrariely to punish euill, and reward good men, is esteemed Tyranny and wickednesse. These are iust the termes, which the Ministers of your Maiestie speake, and vse in this occasion; while they would make shew to doe well in cherishing the *Rebels* of the *Grisons*, and that these haue done euill to punish them.

Now what may the world say?

To this they adde, that the *Grisons* haue exercised this Tyranny by the practise and money of that neighbour *Potens*

case, who for reason of *State* doth make any thing lawfull, how contrary soeuer to the honor of God, and the maintenance of his holy faith; and who is the principall Instrument of infinite euills to the *Christian Common-weale*. Now, who doth not laugh at this so foolish Calumny? Doubtlesse the *Grisons* had great need of the practices and moneys of some great *Potentate* to punish halfe a dozen *Rebells* and Traitors, part in prison, and part fled. And who doth not wonder at so much shamelesnesse? It had beene enough, if that *Potentate* vnder the pretence of *Religion*, and *Godlinessse*, had done any of those many Villanies which were committed in *Italy*, to describe him in so handsome colours; But who will not praise that great modesty, which would not by name decline that *Potentate*? Truly it deserved great praise, if it were not knowne, that extreame hatred did abhorre to name him.

But who doth not vnderstand it? This is that *Potentate*, which was borne in the wombe of the *Holy Catholique Roman Religion*; This is that *Potentate*, that in twelue hundred yeares hath neuer embraced other faith, other law, then that of *Christ*; This is that *Potentate*, who since the *Roman* libertie was lost, hath euer maintained libertie aloue in *Italy*; This is that *Potentate*, which alone, with iust an honourable title both by land and Sea, hath largely and gloriously extended his *Empire*. This is that *Potentate*, who hath made with his blood, a Counterscarfe to *Italy*, and with his treasure so many ages, hath and doth defend it from the Rapine of the Barbarous Enemies of *holy faith*. This is that *Potentate*, which hates and persecutes all Tyrants, and lones and protects with all his power, lawfull, and iust Princes; for which onely, it seemes he is so much hated and persecuted, by the Ministers of your Maiestie; A glorious, and renowned *Potentate*, whose most noble Actions, exalted to the *Heauens* with immortall praise of the histories of all *Nations* (I doe not decline those of *Spain*) who dispassionately honor Vertue with Truth, are abundantly known to your Maiesty. From whence you may well comprehend, that if your Minsters doe seek vnworthily

to blemish that their glorie with defamations, they doe
 out of intestine hatred, which by naturall instinct they
 beare to all, who are not to them conformable; in one thing
 only iust, vpright, and sincere: that they are no Accepters of
 Persons, but without any partiality deale alike with all men.
 And if the Pope, the true *Supporter*, vpon whom *Christ* our
 God hath founded his *holy Church*, shall not to their will con-
 forme, they will say, that hee is an *Apostate* and an *Heretique*;
 and when yet they dare not so much, vnder other pretences
 they will call him vnjust, wicked, Disturber of the publique
 peace; they will esteeme him *Enemy*, invade his *State*,
 sacke *Rome*, besiege him in his *Castle*, take him prisoner,
 impose vpon him a grieuous rancome, as if hee were
 Slave and they *Turkes*; They will by necessity force him
 to sell *Chalices* and *Crosets*, to redeeme himselfe; and not
 therewith content, they will haue *Cardinals* in hostage, the
Castle in their power, *Indulgences* for the purse; and yet
 more, if more were to be found.

I durst not certainly say these things as you Maſterſie, if in times paſt they had not happened in They did thus Ham-
le in the Reigne of *Charls* the fiſt, who againſt the will
of that *Rolands* Emperour, *Clotilde* the ſeventh, and would
readily have done the like vnder King *Philip* the ſecond, fa-
ther of your Maſterſie, when they raiſed warre againſt *Paul*
du Tonre, and took from him *Extrem*, *Thaul*, and *Oſia*,
the King of *Frince*, wely moſt *Chriſtian*, had not ſtayed
their fury, and the *Turkiſh* King apprehended a contenten-
ce, ſuddenly to ſecondate his diſſenters.

Second Curious Discourse. If these things are all true, as surely they are, reasonably to may be deduced, that the sessions will proceed from like persons; wherefore to the end you easilie may, as you earnestly desire, vindicate your selfe, and free your name from scandall; and other Princes from calumny, and the unworthy infamy of your Ministers, which are the chief Adversarieties by me proposed, it will not be out of the purpose, to set before you, every one particular, which under your Emperors are done as lawfull, which

by all good *Christians* are held abominable. I implore from a benigne Prince attention, and in attention, benigne; so that my words may passe without molestation of your *Royal* mind, that receiuing them with a righteous temper, as they are by mee vttered with hearty affection, I am assured they shall not end without some profit.

Baron. Tals.

An. Christ.
1097.
Vrb. 2. 10.

The *Ancestors* of your Maiestie haue established in the kingdome of *Sicily* a supream Monarchy, both in the temporall and spirituall; so that your *Vice-Royes* dispense not onely Offices and Benefices, but also Excommunications and Indulgences; and who will then wonder that the *Duke of Sessa* doth publish *Iubilies*? The great Cardinall *Baronius* hath fully written vpon this Subiect, and with Euidences inuincible shewed the vniust possession of that Kingdome; and that neither your Maiestie can hold, nor the Pope grant it. If your Ministers had found the least apparant reason to answer and confute the doctrine of *Baronius*, as they did at the passage of *St. Iames* into *Galicia*, they willingly would haue done it; but failing therof, they had recourse to the fire, and caused the Eleventh of the *Baronian Annals* to be publicly burnt, & did prohibite it vpon grievous paines to all your subiects: so dexterously working, that your Maiestie beleeuing your selfe lawfull Lord, or at least possessor of that right as you yet continue to vsurpe the spirituall iurisdiction in that Kingdome; as if betwixt you and the Pope the *Apostolique* iurisdiction were equally divided: What this action may be called, let others iudge.

But proceeding further, they haue also induced your Maiestie to arrogate, not an equality, but a Supremacy vpon the high Priest. So that in the *Censures* which his Holinesse, or his *Nuncio*, or others with his authoritie doe send against particular persons into *Castile*, these men refuge to the *Royal* Conncell, aggravating the cause of violence, and the Conncell doth vsurpe cognicion ouer such *Censures*, and doe command *desfais*, their suspension, vntill the allegedged violence be determined, and vnder this pretence, oftentimes enact an absolute Reuocation, that in them there is no further proceeding.

ceeding. In *Spain*, not many yeares since were publicly printed bookes of Lawyers that your Maiestie, & your Royall Councell hath this authoritie, and may iustly vse it: Which doctrine hath greatly scandalized the world, as well for the person that wrote it, who professeth to bee *Christian Doctor*, as for your Maiestie, which doth admit and ierue your selfe by it, and yet are the *Catholique King*: but much more, in respect of the highest Bishop, who sometime deceived by sinister Informations, & malignant suggestions of certaine wicked *Hypocrites*, is seene to fulminate most heavy *Censures*, & to threaten horrible war against great *Princes*, who rightly vnderstood, haue not at all offended his reputation, nor his *Ecclesiastique Iurisdiction*: Neuerthelesse hee doth at present beare these high iniuries, with so much scandall of *Christians*, and so great diminution of his authoritie. Some iudge that this is not done without a mystery but let him declare it that vnderstands it, I will diuine no more.

This sufferance of the *Pope*, & greedinesse of the Ministers of your Maiestie who presume to do alwayes absolutely well, when they amply in any sort *pro fas, & nosse*, the *Royall Iurisdiction*, hath caused, that after hauing made you equall to his Holinesse in dispensing *Ecclesiastique Affaires* in the kingdome of *Sicily*, and superiour in censuring the *Pontifical Censures* in that of *Castile*, they haue also claimed, that you may assume the authoritie of the *Holy Ghost* in the *Conclave* of *Rome* for the election of the high Priest; so it comes to passe, that *Abissus abissum inuocat*. Let it preuaile to speak truth, & *sacred Catholique Kings*; and what else are those great *Persons*, I will not say that your Maiestie giues, but which your Ministers make you giue (because you giue not but according to their Counsell and perswasion) to so many *Cardinals*, but *Simoniack* bribes, wherewith they intend to buy their voices to elect *Popes* to their Content, and to exclude those who are not of their humour. And although this is not done by way of Contract, yet enough for advantage to him, who lookes vpon the intencion, though cloaked, yet too well knowne

knowne to the world; And I am assured, that when they counsell you to giue a *pension* to any *Cardinall* (here I call to winnall of truth the inward Conscience of your Maiestie) they doe not bring to your Consideration, that hee is a man of good life, and poore fortune, or that he well vseth Riches, dispensing them to the poore of *Christ*, that hee builds *Hospitals* and *Monasteries* for needy, and religious persons; but they set on the *frontispice*, that he is a *Prince Cardinall*, great in blood, great in authoritie, great in dependance, that he is a Subiect capable of the *Papacy*, that hee is affectionate to your *Crowne*, that he will euer remaine your deuoted friend, and obsequious to your will, and such other like; None of which concerne the good of the *Church*, the honor of God, nor the fruit of *Christianitie*, but all addrest to the satisfaction and Interest of your Maiestie. I say not now, you doe ill to giue *pensions* to *Cardinals*; rather, it is well done, you ought to doe it, seeing you giue them nothing of your *Royal* Patrimoine, but *Ecclesiastique* goods, which are the Patrimoine of *Christ*, and cannot better bee dispensed then to those, who are the *Pillars* of *holy Church*. The euill is, that with this Interest it is purposed, to oblige them to your wil, so that, at your pleasure, and not according to their *Conscience*, and Inspiration of the *holy Ghost*, they should giue their *suffrages* for the Election of the *Pope*.

Moreover, it is known in the Court of *Rome*, & though *Histories* mention it not, yet the memories of men preserve what was practiced with the *Cardinals* their *Confidantes*, in the choice of *Vrbane* the Seauenth, & *Gregorie* the Seauenth, by the Ministers of the King *Don Phillip*, father of your Maiestie, who glad of the death of the most holy *Pope Sixtus* the first (a death desired, and by common opinion also, by them procured) and fearefull of the danger, that another of his thoughts should succeed him, they did embroile the whole *Conclave*, least any should ascend to the *Papacy* who was not trusty, and fauourable to the *Crowne* of *Spain*, as if the Interest of *Spain*, the good of *Christianitie* ought not to be preferred.

Vrbano the Seauenth did succede *Sixtus*, who in thirteene dayes died. After *Vrbano* those of the *Spanish* faction by all means would haue the *Cardinall Palio* Pope; But God did ordaine, that *Sfondrato*, called *Gregorie* the fourteenth was chosen.

This Election made vpon the fift of *December*, 1590. (your Maiestie may obseue a most *Christian* and wise Act of your *Catholique* father) the King *Don Philip* who was consenting to the Negotiations of his Ministers, dispatched in the Month of Iune following, 1591. to the feet of his *Holinesse*, to aske pardon and absolution of the Censures into which he was fallen, by intermeddling of his Ministers in matters of the *holy Conclawe*. An Act as I haue said, most *Christian*, because it was an amends of the error committed, and most wise, because it serued as an insinuation by that humilitie, to be reduced to the grace of the new Pope, who could not but bee dissasted, as hee was, with the workings which he had seene, scandalized.

Thus the Ministers of your Crowne (*O sacred Catholique King*) doe negotiate in *Rome*, onely presuming by meanes of Pensions, to hold the *Cardinals* in bonds; With which practices the vnitie of the *Church* seemes almost to bee diuided, from whence there is nothing else heard of, to the great shame and destruction of *Christianity*, but factions of *French*, and factions of *Spanish Cardinals*. And although the *French Lords*, doe not intend particularly to oblige any *Cardinall* vnto them, but leaue all in their liberties; Neuerthelesse those are called of the *French* faction, who by Pensions, or other Interests, are not tyed to depend on the *Spaniards*, and see them to make a faction; And therefore there is nothing else done, but *scrwiny*, which of those parties are like to preuaile in the *Conclawe*, at the Election of a new Pope.

I speake so clearly, and so truly, that I am bound to confirme it by their owne *Spanish* Histories. Of the Election of *Innocent* the eighth, who succeeded *Gregory* the fourteenth, it is recorded that it passed without any contradiction, be- Ban. p. 3. vita de
Innoc. 8. C. 1.
cause the *Spanish* faction (saith *Blancus*,) which consisted of 29

Cardinalls, and that of *Montalto* which exceeded so, did easilie vnite together; But what shall we say of the negotiations made in the *Conclaves*, after the death of *Innocent*? I will alleage the formal words of the History to obtaine the more credit.

Bau. p. 4. nita de
Clem. 8. C. 1.

Por ballarse muy poco conformes, las dos principales provincias de Europa, España, y Francia, à las quales, como à cabeças sellegan las demas, esta misma diuision auia en el sacro Colegio, queriendo cadauno faborecer à la parte, que la razon, ò afecion le obligaua:

That is,

By the great inconformity of the two principall Provinces of *Europe*, *Spain*, and *France*, to which, as *Heads*, the rest doe adhere; the same Diuision was in the sacred *Collegio*, euery one desiring to fauour that part, to which reason or affection did oblige him.

Behold a confession of the factions, which I mentioned of the *French* and *Spanish* Cardinalls; But because at this time *France* was without a King, and the warre was made against *Henry* the fourth, the French faction had little credit, whõce it was iudged, that the contrary part was easilie able to create a *Pope* dependant vpon the *Catholike King*, with much imported to the perfection of his affaires. That which makes me astonished, is, that his Maiestie who had acknowledged his error to haue busied himselfe in the former Election of *Popes*, and had with so great submission demanded pardon of *Gregory* the 14. should in this occasion suffer himselfe to be drawne anew into the same error; And if the Historie lye not, your Maiestie also who was then Prince of *Spain*, did therein concur; The Cardinall *Santa Severina* a *Neapolitan*, who, saith the Author,

Bauia ubi supra.

Era vassallo del Rey Catholico, y tan querido de los dos Philipos padre y hijo, que siempre procuraron ponerle en la silla de S. Pedro; como lo hazea agora el gran Filipo 11 por medio de su Embaxador:

That is:

Was a Vassall of the *Catholique King*, and so greatly beloved of the two *Phillips* father and sonne, that they alwayes solicited

solicited to place him in St. *Peters* Chaire, as at this present the great *Phillip* the second did, by meanes of his Ambassadour.

And it followes in the History, that the Ambassadour, which then was the Duke of *Sessa*, was the last that went out of the *Conclave*, when it was shut vp; and that if hee had stayed within, as he was perswaded, hee had secured the Election of *Santa Senerina*: But in respect of modesty, hee would depart, lest it should be beleueed, that it was managed with little libertie; a modestie (well obseruing the Historie) which was no vertue, but a warinesse proceeding of feare, and confidence: of feare, that other Princes would accuse the Election of *Spanish* violence; and of confidence, to haue so well disposed all matters, that his absence could not be prejudiciall. For these respects then, hee came out, but within the *Conclave*.

Havia en este intento Aladrucio con el favor de España, gran diligencia pensando ganar alguno de los Ecclesiasticos, para Santa Senerina, *Banish ubi supra, (62.)*

That is:

To this end *Aladrucio*, with the fauour of *Spain*, vsed great diligence, hoping to gaine some of the *Exclusives* for *Santa Senerina*.

Thus was it negotiated by the Ambassador and Cardinals partiall, as the Catholike King pleased: But Diuine disposition preuailed, which wrought the Assumption of Cardinall *Aldobrandino* to the Popedom, called *Clement* the Eight: a Bishop truely holy, such as the seruice of holy Church required, and happily given by God, and not by any Prince of this world.

This *Conclave* was long, disunited, contentious, full of distasts, and iust such as must be, where *humane*, accompanied with *Denish* power, doth oppose the *Diuine* will; and in some other Coniuncture might easily haue caused a *Schisme* in the Church of God, onely by the extraordinarie and obstinate Negotiations, which for *Santa Senerina* were vsed. Of which it seems the new Pope *Clemēs* was not free of suspicion,

Bavia ubi supra.

tion, who would that that Cardinall should resigne all pre-
tension which he might haue to the *Papacy*; A diligence
esteemed important, though *Bavia* call it superfluous.

From all these premisses (*O Catholike & most mighty Ma-
jesty*) the world doth draw one of these two most necessary
consequences; which are, that the *Spaniards* either beleue
not in God, or presume to bee able to doe more then God.
Because, if they beleue in God, they ought to know, and
hold for faith, that the *Election* of a *Pope*, although made by
mediation of men, is the worke of the *Holy Ghost*: And if
they so beleue, and neuerthelesse attempt, that the *Pope*
should be chosen according to their will, then they presume
to be able to deprive the *Holy Ghost* of that authority, which
onely to him appertaines; who can finde a meane to recon-
cile these extreames? first the fire shall be reconciled to Ice;
Light to *Darknesse*, *Heaven* to *Heaven*.

Sacred Maiesie, I can doe no lesse then speake clearly,
and if God be *Truth* it selfe, God now doth speake by my
penn; This is one of those things which destroy the *Holy
Church*; And a *Catholike King*, who is obliged to succour
it, ought not, in such a manner, concur to ruine it; I could
add many other things, but because truth produceth hatred,
a cursed sonne of a blessed Mother, I doubt that even these
few glanced at, will be ill vnderstood. And now I forwarne
this my writing, that for speaking truth, it shall be condem-
ned. Be it as it will, I by so much more shall esteeme to haue
done my dory, by how much others shall doe against their
dutie, And God shall be the Iudge.

But I am too farre wandred, transported with a iust and
holy zeale from my purpose, though not beside the purpose;
And I pray God, it be not fruitlesse. I returne then to the
principall matter of the *Vateline*.

That it should be lawfull for subiects to rebell from their
naturall Prince, to deprive them of their Estates, vnder colo-
red pretences, while for iust cause, they haue not intimated
a warre; I doe beleue there is no man of honestie, who is
not ashamed to affirme it.

That

That it is lawfull to Subiects, though ill entreated, to rebell, onely some *Heretiques*, who deny the holy Scripture, can speake it; *St. Peter* the Apostle manifestly saying; *Servi subditi estote in omni timore Domini, non tantum bonis et modestis, sed etiam asperis; Hac est enim gratia, si propter Deum sciamini, sustinetis quia tristitia. patiens iniustitiam.* *Epist. 1. Cap. 1.*

But that it may be lawfull to embrace them, when it shall happen through the occasion of ill vsage, that they of their owne will doe rebell, there are yet some dare maintaine it; absolutely professing that all good Princes are bound to succour the oppressed, and that the condition of the miserable should be too wretched, if they might of no side hope of aide; But to vnderstand this case with Iudgement, it must not be discussed with these vniuersal propositions, which onely shew a certaine Equity; but it is requisite to reduce it to particular and proper termes of Iustice. Distinguishing then; wee say, that that Prince, to whose protection the rebelled people of another Prince haue recourse, either hee hath right of some action ouer them, as the Subjects of the vassalls of his Feudary, or he hath no right of action whatsoever. If he hath no action, neither can he receiue them into protection. Because, if People (though ill handled) doe contrary to the Diuine Law, to rebell, against the same Law he serueth, who doth saue and protect their Rebellion. If a Thiefe doe ill to rebbe, it cannot be said that he doth well; who doth assist, to share in the theft. If a murderer doe ill to kill, it cannot be said, that he doth well who receiues him; that Iustice may not punish him; And who can then say, that a Prince doth well, to entertaine the Rebels of another: If these in rebelling, absolutely doe euill? *Quid enim magis inuoluit, tollit*

Vniustly then haue the Ministers of your Maiestie done to intermeddle in the *Palatine*, whilſt yet it were true, that of themselves they had rebelled; much worse, when men they, as is demonstrated, haue with wicked Arts induced them to Rebellion. But it shall be the worst of wickedness, if contrary to all Iustice, they will now possesse it by mayne force, as they shew to desire to doe, seeing the ruin already they haue

Bania ubi supra.

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tension which he might haue to the *Papacy*; A thinge
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onely to him appertaines; who can finde a meane to recon-
cile these extreames? first the fire shall be reconciled to Ice,
Light to Darknesse, Hell to Heauen.

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and if God be *Truth* it selfe, God now doth speake by my
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it, ought not, in such a manner, concurre to ruine it; I could
add many other things, but because truth produceth hatred,
a cursed sonne of a blessed Mother, I doubt that even these
few glanced at, will be ill vnderstood. And now I forwarne
this my writing, that for speaking truth, it shall be condem-
ned. Be it as it will, I by so much more shall esteeme to haue
done my duty, by how much others shall doe against their
duty. And God shall be the Iudge.

But I am too farre wandred, transported with a iust and
holy zeale from my purpose, though not beside the purpose;
And I pray God, it be not fruitlesse. I returne then to the
principall matter of the *Valentine*.

That it should be lawfull for subiects to rebell from their
naturall Prince, to depriue them of their Estates, vnder colo-
red pretences, while for iust cause, they haue not intimated
a warre; I doe beleue there is no man of honestie, who is
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destis, sed etiam ascolis; Hoc est enim gratia, si propter Deum
sciantiam, sustinetis quos tristitia, patienti iungit. Epist. 1. Cap. 2.

But that it may be lawfull to embrace them, when it shall
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owne will doe rebell, there are yet some dare maintaine it;
absolutely professing that all good Princes are bound to suc-
cour the oppressed, and that the condition of the miserable
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that that Prince, to whose protection the rebelled people of
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action ouer them, as the Subjects of the vassalls of his Fea-
domy, or he hath no right of action wherefoere. If he hath
no action, neither can he receiue them into protection: Be-
cause, if People (though ill handled) doe contrary to the
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to robbe, it cannot be said that he doth well, who doth as-
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not be said, that he doth well, who receiues him; that Iustice
may not punish him: And who can then say, that a Prince
doth well, to entertaine the Rebels of another: If these in
rebellling, absolutely doe euill? *Sed neque non recte, et iuste*

Vniustly then haue the Ministers of your Maiestie done
to intermeddle in the *Palatine*, whē yet it were nee, that of
themselves they had rebelled; much worse, when euen they,
as is demonstrated, haue with wicked Arts induced them to
Rebellion. But it shall be the worst of wickedness, if, con-
trary to all Iustice, they will now possesse it by mayne force,
as they shew to desire to doe, seeing therein already they
haue

haue built forts, and that your Maiestie doth consent and approue it; of which the World will iudge that you doe esteeme your owne Interest, then all humane and Diuine lawes, which God forbid.

Onely the *supreme* Prince can hold in himselfe such sort of Dominion, ouer the Countries rebelled from his *sedition*. But when yet they haue not rebelled; and were ill gouerned, he may, and ought to deprive the Prince his Vassals because the inuestiture of the *fee* is not granted for the peoples ruine, but that they should bee gouerned with Iustice, wherefore if the *feudatory* vse iniustice, and ill entreatment, he falls from his Iurisdiction, and the Soueraigne Prince may thereof deprive him; and not doing it, being able, hee shall bee a wicked Prince, and no lesse guiltie of the euill before God, which he suffered his *feudatory* to doe, then hee the *feudatory* himselfe is, who sets it.

Now let your Maiestie apply this doctrine, which is wholly conformable to reason and law, to the Actions of your Ministers, to the condition of your Subiects, and to the right of other Princes ouer your *Estates in Italy*; and you shall clearly see, how your Ministers are damnable, your Subiects miserable, and how much other Princes are obliged to releue them; My words perhaps will seeme bitter, but I beseech your Maiestie to consider if they be true, and finding them so, to take them in good part, as bitter medicines, by *Galleries*, & sharp lances vse to be gratefully received from the hands of Physicians & Chirurgions, to procure health; be assured you shall find them most profitable, because your Maiestie fully informed of the truth, will correct your Ministers, comfort your Subiects, and ease other Princes of the necessitie to vse their supreme Iurisdiction.

The Cause of Subiects and of Ministers are together vnited, because those are gouerned, and these Gouernours; whence, as *Correlatives*, they goe *paripasse*; I will then briefly represent to you Maiestie the Government of your *States in Italy* so farre as is expedient to the present matter.

The State of *Adrian* in the time of the Emperor *Charles* the first, began to bee ill intreated; from whence that sad, lamentable, and despairefull Ambassage, which they sent by *Baptista Archinus* to *Nice* is recorded, who onely because he did lamene, in the name of his afflicted Countrey, was received with an ill eye, sent back without remedy, and by the Imperiall Ministers, at his returne, sharply reprehended; which might have occasioned the Rebellion of that people, if they had found any better Prince who would have rectified them.

His ubi sub ipsam Caesaris à Nicea discessum ex legatione remissam, & per orbes Christiana Gallia divulgata sunt; usque ad insensum ex rei indignitate aditum Caesaris erudit, ut omnes ex rerum desperatione facile desisterent apparere, si minor & clementior quis dedisset remissionem; Domestici officiorum immiserentis suorum, pater, bellique tributo oppressi, non erant, tunc amissa erantione, vixit perierunt; que nunquam desinerebunt, necesse est, donec viamur Caesar, atque Italia Imperio potestatem, quoniam hunc non desinere.

After this, a second time, when *Strozzi Pallavicino Visconti*, who made warre for the King of France, approached to *Adrian*, all the Imperiall Ministers held that Citie as bad as lost, onely because it did feele the yoke of Spanish Domination so violent and heavy.

Ionius Hist. lib. 37.

Assiduis atque intolerandis vrbanis alienata, parata, creditur, ad nouandus res, ut inuictum, & pergrauis Hispanici Regni iugum eueniret.

Ionius lib. 45.

If from that time to this, their grieuances are diminished, or augmented, your Maiestie best knowes.

To what termes that State is at this day reduced, who doth not know, let him consider this, that already many and many yeares it hath suffered great numbers of Spanish Souldiers lodged in the houses of poore particular men, at discretion, Discretion of Souldiers, and Tyranny, are oute and the same thing; who haue not proued it, let him pray to God first to die, and hee shall die happier, then euer to haue proued it. And let him be content to beleue for faith, that

vnder such discretion, goods and honour are dispatched, and hardly is life secure.

I passe ouer the burthen of new Tributes, I leaue the Rapine of Ministers, who like blood-suckers haue exhauited the veines of that plentiful bodie, because in comparison of lodging Souldiers at discretion, I esteeme all to bee nothing, and he who is able to endure to see them eate the sustenance of his poore family, and that which exceeds all other Tyranny, to grow familiar with his wife, daughters, and Sisters, it may be said, that he is growne insensible of any iniury. I remember to haue read in the warres which were so strange betweene the *Venetians* and *Genoueses*, that these did take a Citie of their Enemies, and held it the space of tenne years subiected to discretion: whence it is credible, that besides other matters, they did dispose of their wiues, according to their pleasures, for which cause, to this day, though now two hundred and fifty yeares are overpast, there cannot bee done a greater Iniury to those people, then to call them *Genoueses Bastards*: and notwithstanding that shame, with length of time, and the continued peace of that Citie, which neuer since felt the offence of Enemie, hath bene oftentimes worne out and washed away, yett vpon euery occasion they resent the onely memory of that ancient Iniury done to the honour of their women, which seemes indelible, and eternall. If I then say that the greatest of all the *Tyrannies* which the *State* of *Milan* doth now suffer, is to haue their wiues at the Souldiers discretion, I shall not speak much wide of the purpose, because it is a matter very likely, that in times to come, the *Milaneses* may bee called *Spanish Bastards*, If this be tolerable, let your Maiestie consider.

Wee proceed to *Sicily*, Let it not be grieuous to your Maiestie that I speake this truth, that if this day, there were any other Prince as ready to sollicit the destruction of *Spaniards*, as there was once a *Spanish* King to procure that of the *French*, suddenly and easily wee should see another *Sicilian* *Queser*: the causes are the same, and are not newly begunne, Let the Insurrection of *Messina* be remembered, then

then when the *Vice King Don Iuan de Cardona*, would oppress that Kingdome with intolerable Tributes. And let it be considered, with what pride; and with how great disdain he vsed the *Messinesi*, because they defended the libertie of their Kingdome. For which cause, iustly prouoked, they did generously to his face, vpbraide him, that he acted another *Phalaris*, another *Dionisius*. Ioseph : Bonfigl.
Hist. Sicil. p. 1.
lib. 10.

Don Vgo de Moneada (who would not start, onely to heare this name? this was that impidus man, that sacked *Rome*) was also *Vice-Roy*; how can it be thought, that hee handled them? Let vs obserue the words of the *History*. Bonfigl. p. 2.
lib. 1.

Hee was by Nation a *Catalonian*, by birth a *Barcellonese*, a man most ambitious, greedy of Riches, and immoderately enclined to dishonest Luxury; Hee gouerned *Sicily* with Crueltie, Avarice, and Impudent lust; Hee neglected to farre to punish the falsifiers of money, vntill depruiuing it of Commerce, hee impouerished that Kingdome; and that which more imported, he made publike Mechandise of *Graine*, inso-much, that hee exhausted *Sicily*, and of a most fruitfull Countrey, reduced it to the want of bread. Couetousnesse was accompanied with other notorious vices, so that hee became to the nobilitie and people hatefull; which being knowne vnto him, when the death of the *Catholique King* was published, hee durst not appeare abroad for feare of receiuing some notable afront.

Here the Author proceedeth to the Insurrection of that Kingdome against so strange a *Monster*: who disguised in the habit of a Seruant, saued himselfe by flight, and after got away to his King in *Flanders*. In whose place was sent *Heitor Pinatello Earle of Monteleone*, who by publique Decree would ratifie all the Acts of *Don Vgo*, how tyrannicall soeuer. Whereupon the People (who instead of remedy, saw the mischiefe confirmed) made a new Commotion in the Citie of *Palermo*, and the new *Vice-King* was inforced to escape to *Messina*, vntill the Comitions by the Nobility appeased, and many *Spanish* Souldiers supplied him from the King. he became strong, and was able to vent his rage; as

he did, with extreme rigor, vpon the mourined. And *Dau Vgo da Moncada*, who had so ill entreated the poore *Sicilians*, in stead of punishment, was rewarded with great riches, and honored with the standard of Captaine Generall of the Sea.

They, who at present liue, by tradition of their old men, and for as much as themselves haue proued, doe testifie before God, that that kingdome hath continually suffered grieuances, & cruel extortions, but that the people had almost vterly forgotten them, when they felt the heavy yoke of the Duke of *Ossuna*, because in respect of extreme euils, moderate may be called goodnesse. They exclaime to the Heauens, that he hath left the wretched *Sicily*, desolate, and rooted vp. They complaine with miserable outcries, to haue more then once sent into *Spain* to lament to your Maiestie, and alwaies without fruit: And since, they remain wholly confused, and astonished with the consideration how he, like another *Dau Vgo*, in stead of receiuing punishment, should be honored, and recompenced with the charge of the *Vice-King of Naples*.

And now it is time to discourse of *Naples* it selfe: I should vndertake a great worke, to recount that which I haue seene and tryed, and perhaps I might seeme as passionate, I will then mention onely that, which I haue found in Histories, & that which the kingdome, with full voice doth proclaim.

It was practised lately in *Naples* to introduce the Inquisition al vso de *Spain*: The people cryed out, there was no need of so great rigour, because (by Gods grace) that Kingdome was not full of Moores, and *Spious-Christians*. The *Vice-King* insisting on his purpose, began to vntie the people instructed by nature, armed to oppose against such violence. The *Pope*, informed of the business, commanded the *Vice Roy*, in vertue of holy obedience, so be quiet, and he well may doe it, both as Prince of the Church in respect of Ecclesiastical Iurisdiction, and as temporall Prince, that Kingdome being the proper fowle of the *Sea Apostolique*: yet for this the *Vice-King* would not desist, but with small and great Ar-

Igles p. 2 l. 6. c. 27
Self. ult.
Nonfigl p. 2 l. 4.

illery,

illary attempted to bring his purpose to effect. All the Cities
 were spoiled, Many houses were levelled with the ground,
 and men not a few slain. But sooner hee might destroy all,
 then those generous minds be subjected to his will, so that
 he did great harme, and obtained nothing. Who shall well
 consider these Actions cannot be perswaded that Christian
 zeale transported the Vice-King to intermeddle in Ecclesia-
 stique Iurisdiction, and to desire to burden that people with
 a yoke, little needfull, and lesse reasonable, against the will
 of the *Vicar of Christ*, *Sovereign Prince* as well in Temporal
 as Spirituall in the Kingdome of *Naples*. From whence
 it must be concluded, that under that pretence the *Vice-Roy*
 had some other end, which certainly could not be, but little
 for the good of the Subject.

I know not how to excuse of Tyranny that Action in the
 year 1585, when the officers drew out of that kingdome so
 great a quantitie of Corne, to send into *Spain*, that although
 the year were most abundant, the poor City of *Naples* did
 perish of famine. A Crueltie, indeed horrible, to take from
 the *Neapolitans* their owne bread, to feed their *Spaniards*.
 Therefore not without cause, that people, constrained by
 necessitie to desperation, rose all in tumult, from whence the
Vice-King, (this also was a *Duke of Ossuna*) tooke after, occasi-
 on, to vent his fury, putting to death forty, sending to the
 Gallies a hundred, and exiling infinite numbers.

*Ban. Pontif. A. 3.
 vna Sisto, 5 c. 9.*

The present State thereof imitates that of *Sicily*, as the
Duke of Ossuna succeeded in that Government, after *Sicily*.
 To performe my promise, I will say no more, let that In-
 scription no lesse true then compassionate, by the *Kingdome*
 it self published to the World, speake, which shall remaine
 of that Duke a perpetual, and famous *Elegie*.

he did, with extreme rigor, vpon the mortined. And *Dau Vgo de Moncada*, who had so ill entreated the poore *Sicilians*, in stead of punishment, was rewarded with great riches, and honored with the standard of Captaine Generall of the Sea.

They, who at present liue, by tradition of their old men, and for as much as themselves haue proued, doe testifie before God, that that kingdome hath continually suffered grieuances, & cruel extortions, but that the people had almost verily forgotten them, when they felt the heavy yoke of the Duke of *Ossuna*, because in respect of extreme euils, moderate may be called goodnesse. They exclaime to the Heauens, that he hath left the wretched *Sicily*, desolate, and rooted vp. They complaine with miserable outcries, to haue more then once sent into *Spain* to lament to your Maiestie, and alwaies without fruit: And since, they remain wholly confused, and astonished with the consideration how he, like another *Dau Vgo*, in stead of receiving punishment, should be honored, and recompenced with the charge of the *Vicer-King of Naples*.

And now it is time to discourse of *Naples* it selfe: I should vndertake a great worke, to recount that which I haue seen and tryed, and perhaps I might seeme as passionate, I will then mention onely that, which I haue found in Historie, & that which the kingdome, with full voice doth proclaim.

It was practiced lately in *Naples* to introduce the Inquisition *al uso de Spania*: The people cryed out, there was no need of so great rigour, because (by Gods grace) that Kingdome was nor full of Moores, and *Spem-Christians*. The Vice-King insisting on his purpose, began to vntaunt: the people instructed by nature, armed to oppose against such violence. The Pope, informed of the business, commanded the Vice-Roy, in vertue of holy obedience, to be quiet, and he well may doe it, both as Prince of the Church in respect of Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, and as temporall Prince, that Kingdome being the proper *seade* of the *Sea Apostolique*: yet for this the Vice-King would not desist, but with small and great Ar-
cillary,

Igles.p.2 l.6.c.27
Set. vii.
Donfigl.p.2 l.4.

tillary attempted to bring his purpose to effect. All the Citie
 rose in uprore, Many houses were levelled with the ground,
 and men not a few slaine. But sooner hee might destroy all,
 then those generous minds be subjected to his will, so that
 he did great harme, and obtained nothing. Who shall well
 consider these Actions cannot be perswaded that Christian
 zeale transported the Vice-King to intermeddle in Ecclesia-
 stique Iurisdiction, and to desire to burden that people with
 a yoke, little needfull, and lesse reasonable, against the will
 of the *Vicar of Christ*, *Soueraigne Prince* as well in Tempo-
 rals as Spiritualls in the Kingdome of *Naples*. From whence
 it must be concluded, that vnder that pretence the *Vice-Roy*
 had some other end, which certainly could not be, but little
 for the good of the Subject.

I know not how to excuse of Tyranny that Action in the
 year 1585, when the officers drew out of that Kingdome so
 great a quantitie of Corne, to send into *Spain*, that although
 the yeare were most abundant, the poore Citie of *Naples* did
 perish of famine. A Crueltie, indeed horrible, to take from
 the *Neapolitans* their owne bread, to feed their *Spaniards*.
 Therefore not without cause, that people, constrained by
 necessitie to desperation, rose all in tumult, from whence the
Vice-King, (this also was a *Duke of Ossuna*) tooke after occasi-
 on, to vent his fury, putting to death forty, sending to the
Gallies a hundred, and exiling infinite numbers.

The present State thereof imitates that of *Sicily*, as the
Duke of Ossuna succeeded in that Government, after *Sicily*.
 To performe my promise, I will say no more, let that In-
 scription no lesse true then compassionate, by the *Kingdome*
 it selfe published to the World, speake, which shall remaine
 of that Duke a perpetuall, and famous *Elopie*.

*Ban. Pontif. p. 3.
 visa Sisto. 5 a. 5.*

Miserefcite. Exteri. Exhorrefcite. Pofteri

Petrus. Gironus. Dux. Offinenfium

Natione. Hifpanus. Genere. Perduellus. Religione. Turcicus

Italici. Dalmatici. Germanici

Fax. Cruenta. Bellorum

Non. Vnius. Sicilia. Verres

Neapoli. Pollutis. Templis

Confpirata. Nobilitate

Depredato. Brario

Monito. Mauro. Accerfite. Trace

Veneta. Vrbe. Per. Infidias. Ad. Excidium. Tenta

Regis. Simplicitate. Per. Corruptos. Anticos. Din. Multumq. Delufa

Hofpitum. Manubias. Per. Triennium. Disato. Milite.

Compulfiſſq. Populi. Ad. Eorum. Stationes. Redimendas

Fadata. Infandis. Exemplis. Ab. Nimis. Ad. Infandū. Prena. Cinitate

*Nobilibus. Aliquot. Adſe. Varis. Quā. Munere. Quā. Fraſtamenta.
Pellectis*

Largitionibus. Et. Vanis. Spebus. Plebe. Delufa

*Atque. Eorum. Seditioſiſſimo. Bis. Extra. Sortem. Renunciato.
Tribuno*

Denique

Denique

Frostra. Petasus. Armis

Tentatis. Arcibus

Et. In. Armatos. Cines. Per. Triduum. Circumduda. Acie. Scelestorū

Opparino. Successorū. Advenen

Cedere. Solo. Et. Solo. Compulso

Aurum. Nostrum

Quod. Hic. Corrasit. Nequiter. Alibi. Lascine. Sparsurus

Prævincia. Neapolitani. Hic. Quondam. Regni

Inermes. Enervet

Populorum. Deglubiti. Greges

Palantes. Balantes

Teterrimū. Sui. Clavis

Ignorae. Regi. Tongitque

Et. Torpenti. Fascino. Sanguine

Pagella. Et. Calamo

Quæ. Sola. Sunt. Reliquæ

Representant. Urbis. Eas. Orbis

Miserescite. Exteri. Exhorrescite. Posterī.

In so wofull manner (*sacred Maieslie*) Naples doth lament; No lesse doth Sicily grieve, and Milan equally complaine. But of all their vexations, the vnhappy people are afraid to speake; All their iniuries, with open voice, it is not lawfull to expresse. Seately they dare publikely bewaile their extreame miseries; whence their hearts are more corroded.

148. lib. 8.

Tacitus moror, & luctus; verentibus ne ipsa lachryma pro contumacia indamnetur. Crescit diffinitatibus ipsa, dolor; hoc alius dimissus, quo minus profiteri licet.

Of these three principall Prouinces of Italy vnder the government of the Emperour Charles the fift, I find recorded in Historie, that,

100. Hist. lib. 39.

Insubres ex opulentissimis ad egestatem redacti, diuque, vel in pace inuicem vexati, frustra apud surdas Caesaris aures prefidum acerbisatem querebantur. Neapolitanum vero Regnum quo nihil pollens unquam fuit, eversum exsturnque omni pristina dignitate conciderat. Et in Sicilia, cum annuis Tributi, tum nonis rei frumentariae veltigalibus, & frequentibus Hispanorum assinis, hybernisque euasata, occasio potius rebellandi, quam consensus, desse videbatur.

But, certainly, certainly, they are in much worse estate at this present, I belecue not (*O sacred Catholique Maieslie*) that there is any Prince in this world, who, for reason of State, doth not sometimes slip into some indecent Action, because it may happen, that the Iudgement and the will are surpris'd; the one perverted, the other blinded with passion and interest.

As to the conditions of Princes their Ministers ordinarily do conforme; for these are their eyes, eares, hands, and feet; and therefore, as is formerly said, the Actions of Ministers are attributed to themselves the Princes. Let vs then say, that Ministers as well as Princes, may, and doe also erre, either by ignorance, or passion, or if penuriall. But in all Christian domes, I certainly belecue, that there haue not beene, nor are found, any Ministers, of any Prince, or Republike, who haue committed so great errors, nor vsed so many wicked

ked dealing, as the Spaniards. Let your Maiestie consider the few in this discourse alleged, which are scarce the thousand part of those in history recorded; and bee pleased with attention to read what they haue done in *India*, faithfully described by the aforementioned Bishop of *Chippes*. And you shall clearly see, that to this truth there is no reply; and with great griefe of heart, you will compassionate the condition of your miserable Subject: you will abhorre the execrable Actions of your Ministers; and as a true Catholike Prince, will provide to the whole conuenient remedie: which if you shall not doe, than the right of other Princes, which I haue pointed at, will take place.

Your Maiestie doth know, that *Milow* is a fard of the Empire, *Naples* and *Sicily* of the Church: Therefore the Pope and the Emperour, when their Subjects in these *States* are not governed with upright Justice, are bound in conscience to God, either to resume the immediate Dominion; as they haue the Supreme, or to provide another Prince, that rightly and iustly may gouerne, depriving your Maiestie of the Inuestiture of those *frades*, which will bee echeated by the Iniustice of your Ministers, by you tollerated. And if at present it may seeme, that the *State* of *Milow* is secure, the Emperour being of the house of *Austria*, and your neare kinsman, and that you feare not *Naples* and *Sicily*, knowing the high Bishop most inclinable to your fauour, yet in many respects, there remains much whereof to doubt: The affection of the minde, and the alliance of blood, with some other interest loyned to the one, and the other, are considerations that can doe much: But the loue of Heaven, and the feare of Hell, and the infallible Iudgement of God, which will giue the one, or the other, as I beleee, may much more preuaile. So that at last, the Pope, and the Emperour, will haue more care of their owne soules, then of your Maiesties satisfaction; I adde, that the Emperour, & Pope, doe are Electiue Princes, and not hereditarie, whence if the present Bishop bee obsequious to your Maiesties will, perhaps his successor will bee contrary. And though now

the Pope and the King of Naples, in those times are bound
the House of Austria, may succeed them, who finding to his
occasion, will certainly bereave your Majesty of your Italy
and when neither of these would, I may say, God will do
it, and might already the authority of holy men, and prophe-
ties of *Sacred Scriptures*, but I will bank them as superfluous,
only this I will adde, that when all other danger should
faile, you ought greatly to feare the heavy dislike of all your
owne Subjects: Because *Italy* beinge *Superior* to all
other Kingdomes in this world, and the most shining in the world.

Senes. Thabzi.
Act 4.3. sc. 2.

Let your Majesty then consider (to close vp this Discourse)
how your Ministers bring your State of *Italy* into extreme
perill, both in respect of your Subjects, by their manner of Go-
uernment, & with the machinations which they continually
waite against other Princes; And if ever *Emperors* or *Kings*
should take Armes against you, you may bee assured that
all the Princes of *Italy*, and perhaps of *Europe*, your Oppo-
sites, because the interest of State hath opened their eyes.

Let your Majesty imagine to our heare all the *Italian*
Princes, after this manner to discourse among themselves.

Now what doe we doe? Why doe we not oppose him,
who with a thousand frauds doth aspire our ruine? The *Bar-
yards* possesse in *Italy*, *Milan*, *Naples*, and *Sicily*, besides
many lands wrested from poore particular Lords, as *Genoa*,
Piemonte, *Corcyra*, and others, and yet are not content: If
now they become Masters of the *Italians*, whereby they
project to shut vp the passage of stranger Nations either to
our service, and to keepe it at pleasure, open to ioye with
theirs, the *German* forces of the House of *Austria*.

By this vnion they promise themselves vnto to bring
nothing the power of the *Republicke* of *Venice*, the which
being remoued, they hope in *Italy* to finde no other resis-
tance: so that thereof they will soone acquire the absolute
Monarchy.

Ion. Hist. lib. 10.

*Præsumptio, et quædam impetuositas, et quædam Hyperbia, et
quædam fortis irreuerentia, ad summam superbia pervenit, et
ad idem conueniunt.*

Then would they expect, that the Pope should bee Chapp-
 layne of the King of Spaine, and we inferiour Servants of his
 Royall House: wee are too sure, that this is the Intention of
 the Spanishe Ministers: Already wee see, in what treacherous
 manner they seek to effect it, and wee stand still, with our
 thumbs vnder our girdles: too late we shall repent, if soone
 wee doe not resolve. Here, resuming their thoughts vpon
 your Maestie, in whose name your Ministers worke, they pro-
 ceed, meditating the same conceit in these words.

Phillip King of Macedon, who alwaies with feares, with
 treacheries, with sacriledge, attending to enlarge his Empire,
 being by the Thebans chosen Captain of their Army against
 the Phocians, who robbing the Temple of Apollo, with sacred
 treasures had armed, to make warre on Thebes, vnder the
 show of piety and Religion, readily accepted the charge and
 Enterprise, and at the first Encounter, overcame the En-
 my, whence hee was celebrated with Immortall glory.

*Incredibile, quod quae res apud omnes nationes Philippa glori- Inf. 8.
 am habet. Illam vindictam sacrilegij, illum a laetitia religionem.
 Quod orbis viribus arripere debuit, solum, qui pericula exigens
 extulisse dignum. Itaque Deus praestant habetur, per quem Deo-
 rum Adversitas vindicta fit.*

But finding himselfe victorious and powerfull, hee disco-
 vered his dissembled piety, and feined Religion, breaking his
 faith with those, who had made him their Head, and sub-
 stituting that friendly Citie, like an enemy, which had made
 him a Conquerour.

*Vultis timere, ne ab hostibus sacrilegij vincamur, Civitates Inf. paul infra
 quarum paulo ante Deus fuerat, quosque auspicio non milleser-
 rant. quae gratulata illi sibi que victoriam nulla fuerant, belliciter
 occupatas, diripiunt.*

By degrees discord among the Grecians alway encreasing,
 hee sowing to helpe, now one, now the other side, in the end
 deceiving all, vsurped to himselfe the whole Dominion of
 Greece.

Behold now (say the Italian Princes) behold another Phil-
 lip King of Spaine, wholly like to that of Macedon, who ad-
 mirates

dirates nothing else but to subdue *Italy*, as the other had sub-
jected *Greece*; and entering with the same practices of Piety
and of Religion, using the same Arts of Deceit, and Treason,
doth propose the same ends of absolute *Monarchy*,
whereby he may, in time, be celebrated with the same *Enco-
mium* as was the other, and it shall be said:

Just. ubi supra.

*Philippus Rex Hispaniarum, veluti a specula quadam liberat
Italiam insidiatus, dum contentiones Civitatum alio, auxilium in-
ferioribus ferendo, ruit, pariter ruit, et sicque subire Regiam fir-
mitatem coegit.*

They conclude the blow is foreseene, we shall be very un-
wise, if we be not able to defend it.

But the *English*, *French*, *German*, and other Nations, doe
not thinkethemselues free of the danger, rather they hold
for certain that the progresse of the king of *Spain*, in *Italy*,
are preambles to their ruine, and they remember, that the *Ro-
manes*, after the conquest of *Italy*, did subdue the world;
Wherefore our defence is their interest, and wee and they
for this common interest, are bound, by common consent,
and with united forces, to resist, yea to suppress the *Spanish*

V. a. Max. l. 2. c. 2.

Armies, *que oppressura sunt, nisi opprimantur.* And if perhaps
some doe not beleue that the *Catholique* King can have so
greedy desires, let him well consider that which his Prede-
cessors have done to these many *Kings*, and mighty *Princes*
of *India*, and from example of others, let him learne to looke
vnto him, *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.* These
(*O sacred Catholique Maiestie*) are the discourses of the *Italian*
Princes, not *Charmers* of subtil wits, but extracted from
the firme foundation of *Histories*, and from the *Actions* dis-
covered of your Ministers.

*Salust. de coniur.
Cath. lib. 1.*

The Religion and Piety is knowne, they are disguised to
make the unjust usurpation of the Estate of others to appeare
faire and honest, and that, in truth, *Ex his dominis, causa
belli habetur.* So Don *Pierre* of *Mayno* whipped *Sicily*, the *Ca-
tholique* *Kings* *India*, and Don *Philip* the second attempted
to get *France*, under the like pretence the Ministers of your
Maiestie have now surprised the *Provinces*, the which was not
other.

otherwise rebelled of their owne will, because it was tyrannized in Religion, and in the publique gouernement, as is spread abroad, but induced to Rebellion by the Dissentions insid onlly sowed by the Ministers of your Maiestie, and by the tyranny which themselves haue introduced, by meanes of those Traitors *Pompeio* and *Rodolfo Pluma*, and others on them dependant. Your Maiestie becomes deceived by such as make you otherwise beleue, & in stead of perswading you to a iust warre against the *Turkes*, who are your perpetuall enemies, and worke so great spoiles to *Christendome*, particularly in your owne Estates, doe from that diuert you, vrging you with termes of Religion, cruelly to destroy with force of Armes the *Griseis*, as *Heretiques*; whose Conuersion should benignely be produced, by the sweetnesse of preaching; With this and other euillactions your Ministers without any your fault, doe bring great reproach to your Royall name; Wherefore you ought iustly with them to bee enraged, and the more, seeing they practizing so wicked actions, seek to defame all good Princes with detesting words; And if your Maiestie doth not reframe the tongues, and hands of your Ministers, they will yet say, and doe much worse, not onely against *Secular Princes*, but against himselfe the *High Priest*, to whom they desire your Maiestie should be equal & superiour; and that also you should vsurpe the authority of the Holy Ghost in Election of *Pope*; that they may on you depend. In briebe, they pretend that your Maiesty should be sole and supreme *Monarch* of all *Italy*, and doe beleene, that hereunto the Dominion of the *Papstie* is the direct way, the which cannot by you iustly bee kept, though it were true, which is not; that of themselves those people had rebelled; but you are obliged to restore it to their owne *Lords*, having no action in any kind vpon them, as a supreme Prince should haue vpon his *Subjects*. The which if it shall be well considered of your Maiestie, you will know not onely the Injustice, which your Ministers desire to doe, in snatching against equity, the Estates of others, but also the danger

danger whereinto they thrust your owne Estates in *Italy*, the which being continually governed with violence, contentions, and manifest Tyrannies of your Ministers, doe induce a necessitie (if they loue their soules health) in the *Pope* and the *Emperour*, their supream Princes, to deprive your Maiestie of the Inuestiture, and to transerre it to another, who may iustly and mildly gouerne them: And if euer it shall bee thus resolved, your Maiestie shall finde all the *Italian* Princes your opposites, who from the surpris of the *Vatelines*, are confirmed in this opinion, that the *Spaniards* proiect, suddenly to subdue all *Italy*, and referring the actions of Ministers to your Maiestie, doe conclude, that you certainly aspire, to make your selfe thereof sole *Monarch*, as in times past *Philip* of *Macedon* did of *Greece*; and after the Conquest of *Italy*, that you haue fixed your thoughts vpon the *Monarchy* of the World, as did once the *Romans*. Wherefore it is the Common Interest of all the Princes of *Europe*, to oppose your Armes, that they doe not in this our World, that which your Ancestors haue done in the new world of *India*.

All these matters I haue hitherto discoursed, and fully declared to your Maiestie, not with intent, as others haue done, detractingly to inueigh, to staine your Reputation, and to excite against you vniuersall hatred: but with purpose freely to discover that truth, which neuer or rarely is brought pure, sincere, and chaste, to the eares of Princes; but violated, corrupted, and adulerated, by those, who by indirect wayes, without merit, seeke to acquire Grace.

I know that your Maiestie feares God, loues Iustice, hates Tyrannie, is content with your owne, doth not covet the goods of others, doth prize your owne name; desires Peace, abhorres Warre, wishes the good of your subjects, the quiet of your neighbours, and the concord of *Christendome*. Whence I am secure, that taking in good part my words, and weighing them in the iust ballance of your great prudence, you will not, that *Trinus*, who is the Daughter of
God,

God, sent from God, and speaks in the name of God,
 should returne backe without any fruit; Let your Maiestie
 then command your Ministers, to change their works,
 and thoughts, that the Affaires of *Italy* may be re-
 duced to quier and tranquillity, and that the
 World, from the effects, may know, that
 your Maiestie is a iust Prince, and
 a true *Catholique*
King.

FINIS.

danger whereinto they thrust your owne Estates in *Italy*, the which being continually governed with violence, contentions, and manifest Tyrannies of your Ministers, do induce a necessitie (if they loue their soules health) in the *Pope* and the *Emperour*, their supream Princes, to deprive your Maiestie of the Inuestiture, and to transerre it to another, who may iustly and mildly gouerne them: And if now it shall bee thus resolved, your Maiestie shall finde all the *Italian* Princes your opposites, who from the surpris of the *Fateline*, are confirmed in this opinion, that the *Spaniards* proiest, suddenly to subdue all *Italy*; and referring the actions of Ministers to your Maiestie, doe conclude, that you certainly aspire, to make your selfe thereof sole *Monarch*, as in times past *Philip* the Conquest of *Italy* vpon the *Monarchy*. Wherefore it is the *Europe*, to oppose our World, that new world of *India*.

All these matters declared to your Maiestie detractingly to insaigh, to ~~shame~~ your Reputation, cite against you vniuersall hatred: but with purpose freely to discover that truth, which neuer or rarely is brought pure, sincere, and chaste, to the eares of Princes; but violated, corrupted, and adulterated, by those, who by indirect wayes, without merit, seeke to acquire Grace.

I know that your Maiestie feares God, loues Iustice, hates Tyrannie, is content with your owne, doth not couer the goods of others, doth prize your owne name, desires Peace, abhorres Warre, wishes the good of your subiects, the quiet of your neighbours, and the concord of *Christendome*. Whence I am secure, that taking in good part my words, and weighing them in the iust ballance of your great prudence, you will not, that *Travis*, who is the Daughter of God,

IRREGULAR PA

(101)

God, sent from God, and speaks in the name of God,
should returne backe without any fruit; Let your Maiestie
then command your Ministers, to change their works,
and thoughts, that the Affaires of *Italy* may be re-
duced to quiet and tranquillity, and that the
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IX IS.

PAGINATION